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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

LORD CHESTERFIELD:

WITH

DR. MATY'S MEMOIRS OF HIS LORDSHIP'S LIFE.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

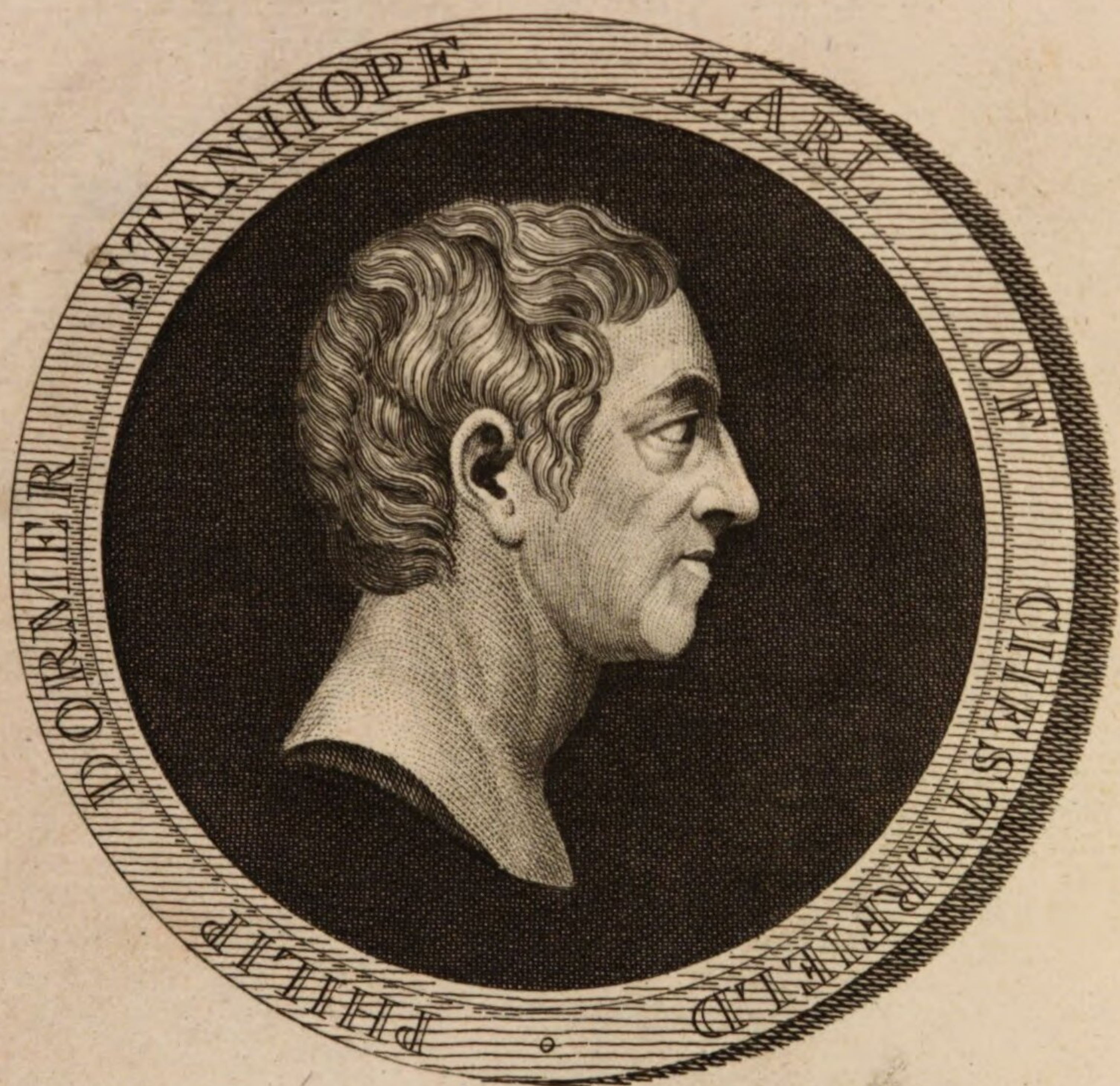
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS
Ipsæ enim familiæ sua quasi ornamenta ac monumenta servabant, et
ad usum, si quis ejusdem generis cecidisset, et ad memoriam
laudum domesticarum, et ad illustrandam nobilitatem suam.

CICERO.

LORD CHESTERFIELD:
Memoirs from those of Philip de Comines, down to the innumera-
ble ones in the reign of Lewis XIV. have been of great use, and
thrown great light upon particular parts of History.

CHESTERFIELD.

DR. MATY'S MEMOIRS OF HIS LORDSHIP'S LIFE
VOLUME THE FIRST.



Le Noir. Sculp.

C
MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF THE LATE

PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE,

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD:

—
CONSISTING OF

LETTERS to his FRIENDS, never before printed,

And VARIOUS OTHER ARTICLES.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE,

TENDING TO ILLUSTRATE

THE CIVIL, LITERARY, AND POLITICAL

HISTORY OF HIS TIME.

By M. MATY, M. D.

LATE PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM,
AND SECRETARY TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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MEMOIRS OF LORD CHESTERFIELD. ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is proper to acquaint the Reader, that Doctor MATY left the first five Sections of these MEMOIRS complete, excepting the omission of a few passages and some notes. He also left a rough draught of part of the last Section, and heads for the remainder. The rest has been supplied by the Editor.

MEMOIRS

ADVERTISEMENT.

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M E M O I R S

OF

L O R D C H E S T E R F I E L D.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

IT hath long been a matter of doubt with me, whether the following undertaking will tend to promote the benefit of mankind, which ought to be the object of every writer: for, though it cannot be denied that history hath been chiefly founded on the authority of contemporary relations, and authentic memoirs, yet it is no less certain, and hath often been lamented [1], that nothing hath contributed more to render historical truth suspected, than disguised accounts of facts by interested statesmen, and false representations of characters and motives by prejudiced or mercenary writers.

The improper use, however, which hath been made of such materials cannot be urged as a sufficient reason for depriving posterity of the advantages, which may be derived from them, even though they may be imperfect, and in some instances suspicious. It is from the number and variety of private memoirs, and the collision of opposite testimonies,

testimonies, that the judicious reader is enabled to strike out light, and find his way through that darkness and confusion, in which he is at first involved. Who cannot but regret that neither the Cato nor the Anti-Cato have been transmitted to us? Who doth not wish that Cæsar had lived to finish his commentaries, and that Pompey's sons, instead of fighting their father's cause, had employed themselves in writing his life? What a valuable legacy would Cicero have left us, if, instead of some of his philosophical works, he had written the memoirs of his own times! or how much would Tyro, to whom posterity is so much indebted for the preservation of his master's letters, have increased that obligation, if, from his own knowledge, he had connected and explained them! The life of Agricola, by his son-in-law Tacitus, is undoubtedly one of the most precious monuments of antiquity. Even remote biographers, such as Cornelius Nepos [2], Suetonius, and Plutarch, convey more exact representations of persons and facts, than compilers, or writers of abridgments, such as Paterculus, Florus, and Justin; and to come nearer to our times, the Comines, Sullys, Clarendons, and Ludlows, will continue to survive the Daniels, D'Orleans, Oldmixons, and Guthries.

But besides this general utility, which public history derives from private authorities, other advantages, perhaps no less important, may be obtained from them. It is from observing different individuals, that we may be enabled to draw the outlines of that extraordinary complicated being, man. The characteristics of any country or age must be deduced from the separate characters of persons, who however distinguishable in many respects, still preserve a family likeness. From the life of almost
any

any one individual, but chiefly from the lives of such eminent men as seemed destined to enlighten or to adorn society, instructions may be drawn, suitable to every capacity, rank, age, or station. Young men aspiring to honors cannot be too assiduous in tracing the means by which they were obtained: by observing with what difficulty they were preserved, they will be apprised of their real value, estimate the risks of the purchase, and discover frequent disappointment in the possession.

It is not my province to determine, whether the memoirs of lord Chesterfield will answer these several purposes. I profess, however, they were written with that view. The transactions of the two last reigns are so recent, that general history cannot yet relate them with faithfulness and accuracy. But materials should now be collected, characters should be drawn, while they are still fresh in the memory of the living, and anecdotes should be snatched from the destructive hands of time and oblivion. I do not presume to have penetrated into the sanctuary, nor can I venture to promise that I shall always be able to come at the truth; some secrets may, and perhaps must, remain for ever undisclosed. Those, who are possessed of better informations, may be incited by this attempt to communicate their knowledge to the public.

How happy should I have been, had this undertaking been honored with the earl's own assistance [3]! Could my pen, as I wished, have been directed by his masterly hand, posterity would have received a work more worthy of its attention. As the difficulty of the task excited my industry, I have supposed myself under the inspection of lord Chesterfield's piercing eye, commanded by him to
speak

Speak the truth without malignancy and without extenuation; and as no man knew better than himself, that perfection or pure virtue never was the lot of humanity, I have not scrupled to add some shades to my colors.

To throw these memoirs into some kind of order, I have divided them into six parts, or sections. The first contains the early periods of lord Chesterfield's life, and extends to his twentieth year, or to the death of queen Anne. The second comprehends the detail of his conduct at court, in parliament, and in society, during the reign of George the first, ending in 1727. The third gives an account of his first embassy to Holland, and his return to England, to the time of his dismissal in 1733. The period of his opposition, during the twelve following years, is the subject of the fourth section. The fifth includes his lordship's second embassy to Holland; his administration in Ireland, and his share in public affairs as secretary of state, till the beginning of 1748 when he resigned; and the sixth and last represents his lordship in his retreat, enjoying the fruits of his experience and labors, bearing up against the infirmities of old age, and continuing to the last the favourite of the muses, the friend to his country, and the well-wisher to mankind.

SECTION



S E C T I O N I.

PHILIP Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield, ^{1694.}
was born in London, on the 22d of September
1694 [1].

The antiquity of the Stanhopes [2] is sufficiently known, and needs no illustration. Several of our first nobility trace their origin from them [3], and their connections and intermarriages with the principal families of the kingdom have been very numerous and extensive [4]. Their zeal for their country and fidelity to the crown, ever since the reign of Edward III. though often tried, could never be shaken; and their eminent services in the most critical times were justly rewarded by places of trust, and marks of distinction. The honor of peerage was conferred upon this family by king James I. and the title of earl by his son. The late lord stood the eighteenth in the rank of the English earls.

The first earl of Chesterfield lost his fortune, and two of his sons, in support of the royal cause; and, being himself taken prisoner, died in 1656, after twelve years confinement. His eldest son had been dead ever since the year 1634. By his wife, Catharine eldest daughter and coheiress to lord Wotton, he left an only son one year old. His mother undertook the care of his education, and, being appointed governess to Charles the First's eldest daughter,

1694.

daughter, accompanied her into Holland, on the completion of her marriage with the prince of Orange's son, in 1642. She herself had married the Dutch nobleman [5] employed in that negotiation, and by his interest and fortune had opportunities of sending supplies of arms and money to the king, during his greatest distress. Charles II. on the restoration, acknowledged these services, by promoting that lady to the rank of countess of Chesterfield in her own right. Her son Philip, in the mean while, had the advantage both of a military education in the best school of Europe, and of imbibing principles opposite to arbitrary power and persecution [6], in a country then struggling against their united efforts. The finishing of his education, indeed, may be thought not to have been equally happy, as he was sent over to Italy, and spent some years there. He returned, however, time enough, after he had inherited his grandfather's title, to bear a considerable part in forwarding the restoration; and in consideration of his services, the king appointed him lord chamberlain to queen Catharine, and gave him successively two regiments. He was likewise constituted lord warden and lord chief justice of all the king's forests, parks, &c. on this side Trent [7], and the honor of doctor of civil laws was conferred upon him by the university of Oxford. In his youth he was a man of wit and gallantry, though rather of a ceremonious and jealous disposition [8]. He was thought to have shared with his master the affections of the famous lady Castlemaine. This trespass was slightly resented by the easy king; but retaliated by the duke of York, who, not very secretly nor altogether in vain, paid his addresses to this lord's second wife, a daughter of the duke of Ormond. He shewed his resentment on this occasion,

1694.
fion, in a manner, which drew upon him the raillery of the French and other wits of that profligate court [9]. It was most probably this motive, that induced him to resign all his employments, on the accession of king James to the throne. He passed the remainder of his life, free and disengaged, in a delightful villa [10], and being a great lover of gardening, as well as a scholar, was complimented with Mr. Dryden's dedication of the Georgics [11]. An uninterrupted course of temperance, exercise, and useful amusements, procured him a happy and long life, being upwards of fourscore when he died in 1713.

This nobleman's third wife was Elizabeth Dormer, the earl of Carnarvon's eldest daughter, from whom the late earl inherited one of his names, together with an estate. His father was born of that marriage; and of him we know little more than that he was an earl of Chesterfield [12]. It is said that his apprehensions of the return of the Stuarts, an event which he judged near at hand, kept him attached to their cause, and that consequently he disapproved of his eldest son's engagements with the reigning family. It would appear surprising that with such principles he should have married one of the daughters of George Savile, marquis of Halifax, if the versatility of that celebrated nobleman were not sufficiently known [13].

He had four sons and two daughters [14]. Their mother did not live long enough to take the charge of their education. The eldest son, being rather neglected by his father [15], was taken care of by his grand-mother lady Halifax [16], who proved every way equal to this important task. Her mind seems to have been congenial with that of her late lord,

1694.

lord, and her understanding and wit were still exceeded by the goodness of her heart.

It does not appear that her young ward was sent to any of the public schools. His sentiments, manners, and taste, were all formed upon the model he found at home. The best masters were chosen to render his accomplishments suitable to his birth. They hit upon the art of adapting their instructions to his disposition, and by this method improved his mind, while they gained his affection.

From his earliest youth he shewed an ardent desire of excelling in whatever he undertook [17], and an uncommon resolution in never deviating from the track he at first chalked out to himself, whatever difficulties he might find in his way. Two instances of this, however trifling, I shall beg leave to relate from the informations, which were transmitted to me by the bishop of Waterford.

He was very young, when lord Galway, who, though not a very fortunate general, was a man of uncommon penetration and merit, and who often visited the marchioness of Halifax, observing in him a strong inclination for a political life, but at the same time an unconquerable taste for pleasure, with some tincture of laziness, gave him the following advice. "If you intend to be a man of business, you must be an early riser. In the distinguished posts your parts, rank, and fortune, will intitle you to fill, you will be liable to have visitors at every hour of the day, and unless you will rise constantly at an early hour, you will never have any leisure to yourself." This admonition, delivered in the most obliging manner, made a considerable impression upon the mind of our young man, who ever after observed that excellent rule, even when he went to bed late, and was already advanced in years.

With

With such advantages and expectations, it is not surprising that he should have had an uncommon share of spirits. His natural liveliness was, in the beginning of his life, accompanied with some degree of warmth. He was rather impatient of contradiction, and is reported to have been somewhat passionate. This disposition, so improper for a statesman, was happily corrected by an incident; and the lesson he received, was the most efficacious, as he gave it to himself. Something, which he said or did in a fit of anger when he was young, made him so uneasy afterwards that he resolved from that time to watch over himself, and endeavour to curb the impetuosity of his temper. This he was happy enough to succeed in, and for the remainder of his life he was never known to be discomposed by any emotion of his mind.

1705.

When he was about fourteen years old, he had an opportunity of seeing an extraordinary person, Richard [18], the son of Oliver Cromwell. That great wicked man, as he was justly called, had left that son in possession of an authority, which, under the title of protector, raised him above most kings. But he could not inspire him with his own genius, aspiring spirit, and undaunted courage. Indolence and incapacity, which were Richard's characteristics, soon drove him from a seat much too exalted for him. Too weak and too inoffensive not to be suffered to live, he quietly retired to the happier station of a country gentleman; and, without entertaining the least idea of his having lost any advantages, he finished in obscurity a long life, untainted by ambition and secured from envy. Such was his situation, when he was called upon to give evidence in a court of justice. Upon his being named, the attention of the audience was fixed upon him. The

1708.

1708. judge, sir John Holt, either from regard to his former state, or in consideration of his age, shewed him a kind of distinction; by ordering him a seat. This act of humanity drew upon the lord chief justice the censure of some persons; but he was highly commended for it by the queen, when he related the fact to her in the public drawing-room. Lord Chesterfield, who remembered distinctly this transaction, said that he only saw in Richard Cromwell a plain old man, without any appearance that could excite either regard or pity.

1710. The study of the French language had been an early part of young Stanhope's education (19); and when he was about sixteen, Mr. Jouneau, a French clergyman, was employed to improve him in the speaking of it, as well as to give him some tincture of classical knowledge, and the first rudiments of history and philosophy. His letters to that worthy man (22), at the same time that they shew the great progress which he had already made in the French tongue, disclose the natural turn both of his mind and heart. He expresses, in a most lively manner, his regard for his master; and he lost no opportunity of giving him ever after substantial proofs of his gratitude and attachment.

1712. At the age of eighteen, Mr. Stanhope was sent to Cambridge in order to improve his talents, and form those early connections, which commonly discover a young man's natural propensities, and almost constantly determine his future conduct.

Like other majestic monuments of antiquity, the English universities, defended by their own grandeur, and supported by the veneration in which they are held, resist the hand of time, and baffle any attempt to impair or to improve. Perhaps, they

1712.

they may be thought not so well calculated to fit young men for a public as for a studious life. The colleges, of which they are composed, having been founded in those rude ages, when the clergy were in possession both of the little stock of learning still subsisting, and of the great power and influence which that superiority, such as it was, gave them, have ever since retained, and even now that this preeminence has ceased, continue to possess advantages peculiar to that order. Ecclesiastics are almost exclusively members and governors of these noble seminaries of useful knowledge. There are, however, some exceptions; and the society of Trinity-Hall, which was chosen for our young nobleman's residence, has long been distinguished on that account. "I find," he says, in a letter dated August 22, 1712, "the college, where I am, infinitely
" the best in the university; for it is the smallest,
" and it is filled with lawyers, who have lived in
" the world, and know how to behave. What-
" ever may be said to the contrary, there is certainly
" very little debauchery in this university, especi-
" ally amongst people of fashion, for a man must
" have the inclinations of a porter to endure it
" here (23)."

It is an object, at least, of curiosity to be informed of the first steps of a young man, called by his birth, and entitled by his talents, to the highest stations; and I have great satisfaction in being able to gratify this curiosity by informations drawn from his own letters. "It is now," says he, "sir, I have
" a great deal of business upon my hands; for I
" spend above an hour every day in studying the
" civil law (24), and as much in philosophy; and
" next week the blind man (25) begins his lectures
" upon the mathematics; so that I am now fully
B 2 " employed.

1712. " employed. Would you believe too that I read
 " Lucian and Xenophon in Greek? which is made
 " easy to me; for I do not take the pains to learn
 " all the grammatical rules; but the gentleman,
 " who is with me (26), and who is himself a living
 " grammar, teaches me them all as I go along. I
 " reserve time for playing at tennis, for I wish to
 " have the *corpus sanum* as well as the *mens sana*; I
 " think the one is not good for much without the
 " other. As for anatomy, I shall not have an op-
 " portunity of learning it; for though a poor man
 " has been hanged, the surgeon, who used to per-
 " form those operations, would not this year give
 " any lectures, because it was a man, and then he
 " says the scholars will not come." I have been in-
 " duced to transcribe these last lines, on purpose to
 " shew our young nobleman's early turn to pleasan-
 " try. It appears from a subsequent letter, that he
 " found means to go through a course of anatomy,
 " which, from the satisfaction it gave him, retarded
 " for some time his return to London. It might have
 " been better for him, if he had not also dabbled in
 " physic; he would not so often have been his own
 " patient, or intrusted his health to the care of empirics.

1713. The multiplicity of these different studies, and
 the reclusive life which he led at Cambridge, seem,
 from his own account (27), to have rendered him
 rather more desirous of displaying his philological
 acquisitions than was suitable to his rank and desti-
 nation. But this college-rust could not have pene-
 trated very deep, since it was so soon and so per-
 fectly worn off; and our young student never for-
 got or neglected what he, in the decline of life, so
 strongly pressed upon his son, that the art of per-
 suading (28) is in fact that of pleasing.

Party

Party divisions, at that time, ran extremely high; throughout England, and Cambridge was by no means exempt from them. Lord Stanhope, so he was called upon the death of his grandfather Chesterfield, discloses very naturally and with good humor, his own ideas in the following lines to Mr. Jouneau. “Methinks our affairs are in a very bad way; but, as I cannot mend them, I meddle very little with politics: only I take a pleasure in going sometimes to the coffee-house, to see the pitched battles that are fought between the heroes of each party with inconceivable bravery, and are usually terminated by the total defeat of a few tea-cups on both sides.” The same coolness may be discerned in some of his lordship’s last letters: old age and youth have more than one affinity.

1713.

After having passed two years at the university (29), lord Stanhope was sent, according to the custom of his country, to begin the tour of Europe. He did not, however, follow the *costume* in every particular; for, he was not attended by any governor. He hastily passed through the towns in Flanders, without meeting with any proper objects to improve his understanding or excite his curiosity. He had not yet acquired a taste for pictures; and his mind was even at that time, as he expressed himself (30), more turned to persons than to things.

1714.

The summer of the year 1714 was more agreeably at least, if not more profitably, spent in Holland, and the greatest part of it at the Hague. It was in this enchanting place, that he first began to see the world. The company he found there, and which he thought the best, consisting chiefly of foreigners of different countries, and of different ranks, soon enabled him to throw off the scholar, and to become in some measure a new man. But, however

1714.

however indebted he might be for his improvements in good-breeding to his new friends, who laughed him out of some of his scholastic habits, he often regretted that he had contracted others among them, no less disgraceful to his understanding than detrimental to his reputation (31).

His pleasures, however, never made him lose sight of his great object, that of making a figure in his own country. His principles of liberty were sufficiently known, and he made no scruple of avowing them. The earl of Strafford, the British ambassador at the Hague, and one of the plenipotentiaries at the congress of Utrecht, entertained very different sentiments, and did not easily brook contradiction. I have been credibly informed (32), that our young traveller, the late earl of Burlington, and Mr. Doddington, since lord Melcombe, who met all together at the Hague, sometimes diverted themselves with teasing the warm negotiator, by speaking in favor of the whig party, and condemning the tory administration. They would scarcely have been so unreserved, had not affairs in England been near a crisis.

The accomplishments, which lord Stanhope had hitherto acquired, prepared him for Paris, and helped to qualify him for the polite world, which he found there. The reception he met with must have been very flattering, since he described it in the following manner. “ I shall not give you my opinion
“ of the French, because I am very often taken for
“ one, and many a Frenchman has paid me the
“ highest compliment they think they can pay to
“ any one, which is, sir, you are just like one of
“ us.” “ I talk a great deal, I am very loud and
“ peremptory; I sing and dance as I go along;
“ and, lastly, I spend a monstrous deal of money in
“ powder,

“ powder, feathers, white gloves, &c. (33).” As this description is not unlike that which he gave many years afterwards of his countrymens way of spending their time at Paris (34), we may suppose that he was as yet far from being what he wished his favourite son to be, *le petit et l'aimable Stanhope* (35). This surmise is confirmed by his own account of his awkward appearance in that metropolis of levity and taste, and of the means that were used to give him the *bon ton* (36).

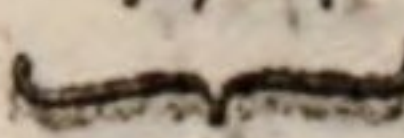
1714.

So great were the changes queen Ann's death made in England, that he regretted not having been present to partake of the general joy upon the arrival of her successor. He enjoyed, however, almost an equivalent satisfaction, in being a witness of the concern expressed both by the French and the Jacobites on this event. He, himself, esteemed it the greatest blessing that could have happened to Great Britain, whose religion and liberties he firmly believed would otherwise, in three months time, have been totally subverted (37).

Whether his apprehensions were altogether groundless is a point perhaps not easy to be determined. That suspicions of an intended invasion by the pretender were at that time entertained, appears from most of the papers and letters written by order of the electoral family of Hanover a few months before the queen's death (38). From these we may judge of the popular fears at that critical period. Lord Chesterfield told the bishop of Waterford, that, if the queen had lived but a short time longer, the whigs would have taken up arms (39). General Stanhope was to have commanded the army, and lord Cadogan to have seized the tower. All the officers on half-pay, some of whom are still living, had signed the association. The place of rendez-

vous

1714.

 *vous* was appointed behind Montagu House. The officers held their arms in readiness in their bed-chambers, and were prepared to obey the summons at a minute's warning. Not one of them betrayed the secret; and lord Bolingbroke (40) never heard of this design till his return, when lord Chesterfield told him of it. Lord Bolingbroke, on the other hand, assured his friend, that he never had any fixed scheme in relation to the pretender, and that he had always avoided speaking of him to the queen, who, he said, did not like to hear any thing of a successor. He added, that the pretender never was in England, during the tory administration. How far *simulation* or *dissimulation* influenced the two lords in these reciprocal communications, may, perhaps, be a problem, which will be differently solved according to different systems. Lord Bolingbroke often said that we were still too near the scene, but that, one day, when private interests and connections should act with less force, the curtain would be drawn up, and many secrets disclosed.

Lord Chesterfield's sentiments, however, appear to have been at all times perfectly uniform. From these he never varied; his zeal and attachment to the crown were always tempered by the liberty he allowed himself of judging of those, who were in actual possession of it. These rulers of the world sat long before him; he observed them both in their royal robes and in their undress, and, having alternately been in favor and in disgrace with them, he drew their pictures from life with a true, but never flattering pencil.

The period we now conclude, and which may be called preparatory, is not in the least interesting in the earl of Chesterfield's life. It shews the early pains

pains he took to lay in a store of useful as well as extensive knowledge, and to habituate himself to an exertion of the mental powers he had received from nature. The building was now begun, and, to use his own metaphor, truly upon the principles of the Tuscan order, having all the strength and solidity necessary to bear a noble and permanent superstructure. As yet, however, the work was coarse and inelegant. The ornamental parts of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders, were still wanting to complete the whole. How these deficiencies were supplied, or, to quit the metaphor, how the accomplished gentleman succeeded to the imperfect youth, shall be shewn in the next section.

S E C T -

SECTION II.

1714.

GEORGE the first, elector of Hanover, ascended the throne of Great Britain without any opposition. His title, though founded upon the principles of the revolution, upon repeated acts of parliament, and the choice of a free nation, was not however universally acknowledged. The government had been for many years in the hands of real or suspected enemies; whom it was equally dangerous to continue in power, or to dismiss. Their secret wishes, it was thought, had long been turned towards a competitor for the crown, who had been formerly acknowledged by Lewis XIV. and, while that monarch lived, was certain of finding in him, equally from motives of ambition and conscience, a zealous, though not an open, friend [1].

The new king arrived in England near two months after he had been proclaimed. The opposite parties were prepared for the struggle. Several changes had taken place; many more were expected, and a total revolution in the political system was, not without anxiety, foreseen.

This critical situation obliged the new ministry to call in to their assistance all those persons, who, from inclination and principle, were attached to their cause. Lord Stanhope was one of the first sent for. He owed this distinction to general Stanhope, grand-son



Le Noir sc.

son to the first earl of Chesterfield by a second wife, and uncle to his father. As this brave officer, to whom the nation owed the conquest of Minorca, was one of the principal leaders of the whig party, and had stood forth in defence of the Hanover family during the trying years of the last reign, he expected, and deserved, to be nobly rewarded. He was immediately appointed secretary of state, and soon obtained the greatest share in the affections and confidence of the sovereign. His young kinsman could not have wished for a more favourable introduction; and therefore, though he had intended to spend the next carnival at Venice, he did not hesitate to sacrifice in this, as in many other instances, his pleasure to his duty.

1714.

Upon his arrival in London, he was presented to the king, and appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the prince of Wales. This post was equally suitable to his birth, his age, and his inclination. His genius, application, and knowledge of the constitution, gave him the best opportunities of acquiring the language and science of courts, of ingratiating himself with the successor to the crown, and of transforming a German prince into a British king. He found by his own experience, as he somewhere observes, that young favor is easily acquired; and that, when acquired, it is warm, though perhaps not more durable than most other court attachments usually are.

1715.

In a soil so unfavourable to the growth of virtues as courts generally are, it was our young lord's peculiar good fortune to meet with a man, whom Socrates would, probably, not have disowned as a disciple; and he had the good sense to make that man his friend. Lord Lumley, afterwards so well known, so greatly esteemed, and so universally regretted,
under

1715.

under the name of lord Scarborough, was at this time lord of the bed-chamber, and master of the horse to the prince. The intimacy between these two noblemen was unreserved, notwithstanding the differences of characters and age, for lord Scarborough was ten years older; it continued unalterable amidst the conflict of interests and parties. We need no other test of the characters of these two lords, than that, though courtiers, they loved, trusted, and esteemed each other.

In these troublesome times, a seat in parliament was not considered merely as an honor, but also implied a duty, the performance of which was expected from all those, whose abilities were adequate to the task. They were called upon to make an open declaration of their sentiments, and to employ their powers in the service of their respective parties. For these purposes, lord Stanhope was elected into the first parliament under George I. as representative of the borough of St. Germans, Cornwall.

But though the interest of his king and country was the primary object of his lordship's attendance in that great assembly, where public good is so much talked of, and private interest so often pursued; yet, perhaps, the thirst of glory, that powerful incentive to great actions, was a motive of some weight with him. He knew that speaking well in the house of commons was the only way of making a figure, and rising to honors. Nature, by no means, if I may borrow his expressions, intended him for a *persona muta*, and one of the *pedarii*. He could not, without the utmost violence to his character, resolve to give silent votes. He tells his son, that from the day he was elected to the day that he spoke, which was a month after, he thought and dreamt

dreamt of nothing but speaking; and, though much awed the first time, he acquitted himself in a manner, which raised the expectations of his friends as well as his own.

1715.

The circumstance, in which he first took an active part, was delicate and in some degree decisive. The principal ministers of the late queen had been driven out of their country, or sent to the tower. Their antagonists, persecuted by them in the last reign, became in this, still more from revenge than from interest, their persecutors; and it is not unlikely that the rebellion which ensued, was as much the effect of the violence of the latter, as of the inclination of the former [2]. Articles of impeachment were drawn up by a committee of enquiry, composed of one and twenty members, against the principal contrivers of the peace of Utrecht. One of these was the duke of Ormond, who, as well as lord Bolingbroke, was prudent enough, to withdraw from the storm, and to leave the kingdom. As the duke had never been a friend to the last-named lord, and seemed much less culpable than the other ministers, several of the most moderate whigs were inclined to treat him with less severity. The majority, however, were of a different opinion; and our new member, who, on this occasion, spoke for the first time, appeared, what the well-meant zeal of inexperienced youth only could excuse, particularly violent. He said that, “he never wished to spill the blood of any of his countrymen, much less the blood of any nobleman; but that he was persuaded that the safety of his country required that examples should be made of those who betrayed it in so infamous a manner [3].” This speech, he owns to his son, was but indifferent as to the matter: he

1715.

he even acknowledges that, if he had not been a young member, he certainly should have been reprimanded by the house for some strong and indiscreet things which he had spoken. It went off however tolerably well, in favor of the spirit with which it was uttered, and the language with which it was graced. But, though he was not publicly censured, he could not escape private admonition. As soon as he had done speaking, one of the opposite party took him aside; and, having complimented him upon his *coup d'essai*, added, that he was exactly acquainted with the date of his birth, and could prove that, when he was chosen a member of the house, he was not come of age, and that he was not so now: at the same time he assured him, that he wished to take no advantage of this, unless his own friends were pushed, in which case, if he offered to vote, he would immediately acquaint the house with it. Lord Stanhope, who knew the consequences of this discovery [4], answered nothing, but, making a low bow, quitted the house directly, and went to Paris, probably not much concerned at the opportunity afforded him of finishing his noviciate in that city [5].

In the mean while, the rebellion had broken out in some parts of England as well as of Scotland. The success of this undertaking is sufficiently known. Like all other precipitate and ill-conducted schemes, it was soon quelled, and only served to distinguish the friends of government from its enemies. It is by no means improbable that lord Stanhope's expedition to Paris had more than view. During the life-time of the old French king, the cause of the rebels had been indirectly supported by that court; and even in the beginning of the regency, all the vigilance of the British minister was exerted to obstruct

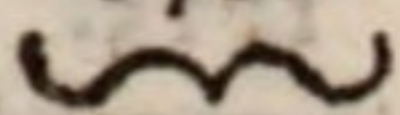
struct this pernicious intercourse [6]. Lord Stanhope, who, under the appearance of a man of pleasure, knew how to conceal the man of business, may have been of singular service in discovering secret intrigues and machinations, and could never have found a better school to improve his talents for negotiation. All the motions of the Jacobites were narrowly watched; their correspondence with those, who had taken up arms in favour of the pretender, detected, and the supplies from his well-wishers in France in great measure cut off. Lord Bolingbroke, it is well known, was by the ambassador's influence reclaimed from the service of the chevalier to that of the king; and he justified the account, which the earl had given of the sincerity of his return [7], by secret assistance and seasonable informations. The careful and spirited conduct of lord Stair was at that time greatly commended, though afterwards not sufficiently acknowledged [8.]

1715.

The success, which had attended the measures and arms of government, was not thought sufficient to secure its stability. The rashness and impetuosity, with which the rebellion had been carried on, were proofs of the confidence, which those who were concerned in it placed in their strength, and seemed to indicate that they possessed resources the more alarming, as they were concealed. The number of the disaffected had on this occasion been found to be much greater than was before suspected. Without secret encouragement, the pretender would scarcely have ventured to come over to Scotland, and to suffer himself to be crowned after the overthrow of his forces. His friends abroad, though disappointed, continued still to threaten [9]; his partisans in the kingdom, and even in both houses, dropped hints of revenge. Though the majority in
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1716.

1716.



the present parliament was greatly on the side of the whigs, the leaders of that party feared, or seemed to fear, that another election might not be equally favourable to them. This apprehension induced the ministry to bring in a bill for making this, as well as future parliaments, septennial.

The duration of these national assemblies is well known to have varied at different periods. The time of their being convened has mostly been unsettled, and though their meetings were sometimes yearly, or perhaps more frequent, yet they commonly were occasional, and dependent upon the business of the kingdom. The parliament became independent of the crown under Charles I. and with proper management might have become so of the people, under his sons. The first error proved fatal to the king, the last might have been destructive of the constitution. To prevent both extremes, the reigning party, soon after the revolution [10], procured an act to limit the duration of parliaments to three years. Experience soon discovered, especially in the following reign, the inconveniencies of too frequent elections, which often favor the ends of faction, and are the cause of unsteadiness in the administration of affairs. The ferment, in which the nation was at that time, and the necessity there was of a firm and permanent ministry, rendered these consequences more obvious and more dangerous. It was apprehended that the malecontents might wish for a time of general confusion, as being the most favourable to their designs. A period of seven years was therefore proposed to be substituted to that of three; and after a strong debate, the motion was carried in both houses. Lord Stanhope spoke in support of this alteration, and we learn from himself [10], that this second speech was delivered with
more

more freedom, and received more favourably than the first. His sentiments on this subject seem to have continued the same through life [11], and though he often expressed in the strongest terms his fears of the progress of corruption [12], he did not seem to think short parliaments a certain remedy against it. Indeed, the scenes of violence and debauchery, inseparable from popular elections, afford just reasons to doubt whether the return to triennial or even annual parliaments would, in the present state of things, contribute more to the advantage of liberty than to the encouragement of licentiousness and the propagation of vice.

1716.

Our young senator continued from time to time to speak in the house of commons, and it appears from his account [13] that he took pains to improve his manner, and shake off his apprehensions. The advantage of his rank, the figure he made in parliament, his insinuating graces in and out of court, must have raised him very speedily to the highest employments, if an unforeseen event had not for a time obstructed his elevation.

1717.

This incident was the misunderstanding between the king and his son, which happened about this time. It took its rise from a circumstance, which would appear of little moment [14], if even the most trifling occurrences did not become important, by the greatness of the persons concerned in them. There were, in this case, other causes, which contributed to the effect. The people in power had for some time been divided; and the principal of them, headed by lord Townshend, were thought to be supported by the successor. His spirits, and a better acquaintance with the language and laws of the kingdom, naturally drew after him a great number of adherents. More heat was shewn by the king on

1717.

this occasion than might have been expected from a man of his easy and benevolent disposition, who in private life would have been loved and esteemed as an amiable if not as a bright man. The prince of Wales was no longer appointed regent of the kingdom, in his father's absence; he was ordered to quit the palace, no public honors were paid to his rank; he was separated from his children, and a consultation was held to appropriate to their maintenance part of his income of one hundred thousand pounds. This last attempt did not succeed. Even court-lawyers decided, that, if the father and mother were not allowed to superintend the education of their family, they ought to be excused from bearing any part in the expence.

During the time of this division, no person was allowed to remain neuter. The courtiers deserted the prince; and his friends were not received at St. James's. This was the case with lord Stanhope. Attached to one court, he could expect no favor from the other, where the influence of his friends must otherwise have secured his promotion. General Stanhope, by his merit and zeal, was grown all-powerful with the king, who readily formed private attachments. He accompanied his master, in all his expeditions to Hanover, both as a minister and as a friend, and was successively advanced to the ranks of viscount and of earl. When sir Robert Walpole quitted the post of first lord of the treasury, he was appointed to succeed him; and, having made an exchange with the earl of Sunderland, held the seals as secretary of state. The interest of such a man was therefore of the highest importance; it had proved extremely beneficial to another person of the family [15]; and it was lord Stanhope's fault, if he did not likewise experience its effects. The
greatest

greatest efforts were made for some years to detach him from his present connections; and, by the price that was offered, we may judge of the value that was set upon his abilities. His father was to have been made a duke; but this offer could not tempt him. He was unwilling to barter his honor for any title; and thought likewise that the younger sons of a duke ought to have larger fortunes than either his brothers or his children were likely to have. The old earl of Chesterfield, though shy of the court, was less indifferent to its trappings. He expressed his displeasure at his son's refusal, and perhaps was happy in having a new excuse to justify his ill-treatment of him.

1717.

Lord Stanhope was, unfortunately, obliged to divide for the first time against the court, in the contest for the repeal of the occasional and schism bills [16]. These two acts, which had been passed with much difficulty during the last years of queen Ann, excited great discontent. The most moderate of the tories, as well as the whigs, judged them extremely oppressive to a considerable part of the nation. Nothing gives a more convincing proof how far the spirit of party may carry people beyond their real sentiments, than to see some great men, whom toleration had formerly favoured, now becoming the advocates of intolerant principles; and to observe several of the former opposers of these bills, now equally violent in their opposition to the repeal. I am told, sir Robert Walpole particularly regretted his having joined the clamorous high-church men on that occasion. Young lord Stanhope, who was in the same opposition, and voted on the same side, was more excusable, as he probably still laboured under some prejudices of education. "I thought it," says he "impossible, for the honestest

1718.

1718. “man in the world to be saved out of the pale of
 “the church, not considering that matters of opi-
 “nion do not depend upon the will; that it is as
 “natural and as allowable that another man should
 “differ in opinion from me, as that I should differ
 “from him; and that if we are both sincere we are
 “both blameless, and should consequently have
 “mutual indulgence for each other.” His good
 sense, however, did not suffer him to join in the new
 test, proposed by lord Guernsey, which though
 supported by the great Mr. Addison, was rejected
 by a majority of the house [17].

1719. The prince of Wales's patience, we may suppose,
 was put to a trial, when the bill for limiting the
 number of peers [18] was brought into parliament
 for two successive sessions. However reasonable this
 bill might be thought in itself, it seemed partial, ill-
 timed, and only intended to serve as a test between
 the worshippers of the setting, and those of the
 rising, sun. The loss, which the crown would have
 sustained in the power of acknowledging services,
 and of securing a majority in the upper house, could
 only be felt by the successor; and, in proportion as
 it lessened the future influence of the crown, it must
 necessarily diminish the number and zeal of the
 prince's friends. This consideration, probably, had
 greater weight with the house of commons than the
 motives of emulation deduced from the situation of
 the temples of virtue and of honor, which were most
 eloquently displayed by one of the members. He
 severely reflected upon a gentleman, who, having
 gained admittance into the house of peers, seemed
 to wish to shut the door after him [19]. Probably
 the desire of shewing his gratitude to his benefactor
 influenced our young nobleman, as much as the uti-
 lity of the bill and his own aristocratical principles,
 to

to divide with all the Stanhopes (20) in favor of the minority, which for the first time under this reign was on the court side. The bill, which had readily passed the house of peers, was by an equally great majority thrown out in the house of commons, and has never been introduced since.

1719.

Whether this ill success, or the confusion of affairs in the ensuing south-sea year, contributed to a temporary reconciliation in the royal family, is uncertain. The prince was restored to public honors, though not to public trust; and his friends were again well received at the king's court. It happened unfortunately for lord Stanhope, that his relation died suddenly in the meridian of his power, and was sincerely regretted by his master (21). But lord Townshend, who succeeded as secretary of state, became also lord Stanhope's patron, and lived ever after with him in as strict an intimacy as their different ages and situations would admit.

1720.

The prince of Wales had probably expected to bear a part in public affairs, and to be constituted regent during his father's absence. He was disappointed, however, in his expectations; for, when the king went to Hanover in 1720, the regency was put into other hands (22). The prince's friends voted next year on the side of the opposition. We accordingly find lord Stanhope's name amongst the speakers against the court, on a question concerning a small tax to be laid on civil employments. In this debate, he answered his friend and kinsman, Mr. Henry Pelham; as afterwards in the other house he frequently opposed the duke of Newcastle: but it was his maxim, that political affairs know no relations, friends, or acquaintance.

1721.

The alarm occasioned by the discovery of a new plot, for a time, put a stop to these divisions, and united

1722.

1722.

united all those who were well-affected to the family. The particulars of this intrigue, in which a catholic duke, a protestant bishop, an English nobleman, an Irish peer, two divines, and a physician, were all supposed to be engaged, remain a mystery even to this day. The danger, to which the protestant cause would have been exposed if the conspiracy had succeeded, made the friends to the constitution exert themselves with redoubled vigor. As this was the period of elections for the second parliament of this reign, great efforts were made on both sides to procure a majority ; but the court had manifestly the advantage. The king, with a view of increasing his popularity, took his son with him in a tour, which he made through the western provinces. He reviewed his troops encamped on Salisbury plain, and appeared as the monarch of the sea, on visiting at Portsmouth the triumphant fleet lately returned from the glorious expedition to Messina.

The effects of these measures were obvious. In the first session of parliament, a motion was made, and carried, to strengthen the power of government, by an augmentation of 4000 men to the army. Lord Stanhope, then member for Lostwithiel, in Cornwall, a borough for which, when he became a peer, his brother, John Stanhope, was elected representative, spoke with great strength in favor of the motion. He was undoubtedly glad of an opportunity of shewing his attachment to the reigning family, though he might, by this fresh instance of zeal, still add to his father's displeasure.

1723.

He was soon after rewarded for this mark of fidelity, by being appointed captain of the yeomen of the guards. It is remarkable, that this favor was granted at the time that the king, on setting out for

for Hanover, again excluded the prince from the regency. Lord Townshend, to whom he succeeded in this post, advised him, to make it more profitable, than he himself had done, by disposing of the places. “ I rather, for this time,” answered lord Stanhope, “ wish to follow your lordship’s example “ than your advice.” Lord Lumley, who was become lord Scarborough by his father’s death, had six years before obtained the second regiment of foot guards. A happy conformity of principles between these two noblemen produced a similarity of conduct in similar circumstances. None of the commissions were ever sold by either.

1723.

On the revival of the order of the Bath, his lordship was offered the red ribband. This he thought proper to refuse; and was not well pleased with his brother, sir William, for accepting it. It is also said, that his lordship took an opportunity of exercising his humorous talents upon this occasion; for sir William Morgan of Tredegar, one of the new knights, having lost the ensign of the order, he made a ballad to turn it into ridicule. This ballad, I am informed, was equally witty and satyrical.

1725.

Whether this humorous piece of pleasantry followed or preceded his lordship’s disgrace, is uncertain. But, when the king set out this year for Hanover, among the changes that were made at court, lord Stanhope shared the fate of Mr. Pulteney, and was dismissed from his place.

I have been informed, that a singular circumstance prevented his lordship from displaying his abilities in the house of commons, as he afterwards did in the house of peers. There was a member of that house, who, though not possessed of superior powers, had the dangerous talent of making those, whom he answered,

1725. answered, appear ridiculous, by mimicking their tone and action. Lord Stanhope was often exposed to this unequal conflict, and always found himself hurt by it. Possibly, this circumstance, had he remained long in the lower house, might have deprived his country of one of its finest orators.

1726. It was therefore fortunate, both for the public and himself, that the death of his father, which happened soon after, removed him to the house of lords. During the remainder of that reign, he continued true to his engagements, and spoke occasionally on the side of the opposition. But he then had few opportunities to distinguish himself, in the manner he afterwards did in more important debates.

1727. The complaint of a want of form in a message from the king occasioned a very smart contest in the house of lords. The earl of Chesterfield, a few months after he had inherited the title, stood up in vindication of the privileges of the house. He likewise spoke the year after in a debate concerning a clause in a money-bill; which gave the sovereign a discretionary power of applying part of the supplies in any way he might think proper, for the security of the kingdom, and the maintenance of the peace of Europe. In both cases, however, lord Chesterfield contented himself with speaking, and avoided joining in the protests which were entered and signed by the dissenting lords.

Nothing seems to have hurt George the first more than the frequent oppositions he met with on account of subsidies. Bred up in principles different from those of the country which he was called to govern, he could not avoid complaining to his most intimate friends, that he was come over to England to be a begging king. He added, that he thought
his

his fate very hard to be continually opposed in his applications for supplies, which he only asked that he might employ them for the advantage of the nation. How far he might deceive himself in these notions can scarcely now be ascertained. He is allowed, by those who knew him best and were most attached to him, to have been somewhat inclined to parsimony, diffident of himself, and very partial to his electorate. But, if he was shy of appearing in the full splendor of majesty, he was still more averse from any act of oppression; and, contented to be beloved by a few, did not wish public incense. He died suddenly, of an apoplectic stroke, on his journey to Hanover, the 11th of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his life; and left many private friends, who sincerely lamented his loss.

1727.

Perhaps, had he lived longer, he would have judged more favourably of his situation; and experienced, that to be truly a British king is in fact to be the greatest monarch in Europe. The earl of Chesterfield was not sufficiently intimate with him, to make him sensible of these great truths, which lord Scarborough and himself endeavoured to inculcate into the mind of his successor. Their endeavours may be supposed not to have been altogether fruitless, but might have proved still more effectual, if other interests and connections had not concurred with the prejudices of a first and foreign education to lessen their influence. Happy those kings who have Sullys for their guides! and happy those guides who have such kings as a Henry IV. of France for their pupils!

Before we quit this period, in which lord Chesterfield made his first appearance in the world, both as a senator and courtier, it will not be improper to take

1727.

take a short survey of his talents, and of the opportunities he had, as well as of the means he employed, to improve them.

Genius is certainly not confined to place or time. Bountiful heaven has scattered it over the whole world; and, as far as we know, in proportions not very unequal. But the exertions of genius, and especially its application to any particular object, seem rather to depend on circumstances. Eloquence, which in this island, as in all free states, opens the readiest way to honors, is never in greater estimation, nor employed with more success, than in those critical times, when the highest interests become subjects of debate, and disputes run less on the good of the state than on its preservation. It is with orators as with warriors; their numbers are increased in those times when they become most necessary; and an age of dangers, difficulties, and struggles, never fails of producing both.

This was evinced in the period which immediately succeeded the reign of queen Ann. A disputed title, a foreign prince, two opposite factions violently exasperated, and resolutely bent on each other's destruction; invasions from without (23), open (24) and secret conspiracies within (25), an unsettled peace, a treasury exhausted, and the apprehensions of a national bankruptcy (26); was the state of the nation during the life of George I. His good sense, knowledge of the interests of Europe, and (notwithstanding what the pen of party, or even lord Chesterfield, may have advanced to the contrary) his foresight and activity, supported and firmly established a throne raised on an unstable foundation; and through his management the British crown was fixed upon his head by that power which
had

had been most interested, as well as industrious, in endeavouring to deprive him of it (27).

1727.

To a man of moderate abilities, it might have sufficed to have yielded to the impulse of the times; but lord Chesterfield was not contented to glide passively along with the stream. Many circumstances enabled him to take a more active part; and he neglected none of the advantages, which fortune threw in his way. Born with a spirit of observation, he from his youth had remarkable opportunities of observing great men. The restoration and the revolution were both under his eyes. The principal actors in the busy scenes of the preceding century were still living. If he had not the happiness of being informed and directed by his grand-father, Halifax, he was at least introduced very early into the company of Halifax's rivals, as well as into that of his friends. Danby and Montagu, inveterate enemies under Charles II, whose schemes they had by turns encouraged and defeated, were now safely arrived in port. Free from those tumultuous passions, which had so long kept them at variance, they daily met, like friends, at the house of lady Halifax; as the elder African's brother, and old Cato, may be supposed to have done at the house of the mother of the Gracchi (28). Under their eyes, the young eagle was made to try his wings, in order one day to soar above their reach.

Models of eloquence of all kinds were equally set before him. In the lower house, which he had just quitted, he had heard, and sometimes borne a part in those animated debates, in which Shippen, Wyndham, and Bromley, made a vigorous, though unsuccessful, stand against those whom they had formerly defeated. Walpole and Pulteney, united as they had been by party and by common danger, separated

1727. separated as soon as they were victorious. Walpole, born for business, indefatigable in labor, and supported by a powerful influence (39), was a clear, as well as artful, speaker; and his contemporaries allowed him to be at once the best parliament-man, and the fittest to take the lead in the house. Pulteney, by nature formed for social and convivial pleasures, excited by resentment to engage in business, and raised by art to be the idol of the people, united all the qualities of a complete orator. He was florid, entertaining, persuasive, pathetic, and sublime, as occasions required. The first, equally master of his subject and of himself, appeared constantly calm, quickly discovered the disposition of his hearers, and, never unprepared himself, knew equally when to press and when to recede: the second, whose breast was the seat of ever-contending passions, with arguments, wit, and even tears at command, bore down all opposition, and sometimes awakened the sensibility of those whom he could not convert. These two great men, so different in their manner, deserved to be studied, though not to be implicitly followed, by such an original genius as lord Chesterfield.

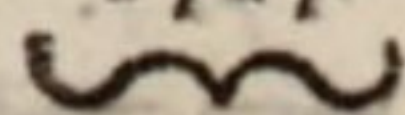
The upper house was no less fertile in great characters fit to attract his observation. Sommers indeed was then no more (30); but Cowper still distinguished himself by superior powers of elocution (31). Harley still spoke, and sometimes still with dignity (32). But, above all, lord Bolingbroke, whom lord Chesterfield heard in his youth, had made the strongest impressions upon him (33). Among the persons, who succeeded to these eminent speakers, several would have appeared with greater advantages, if the qualities of their hearts had equalled those of their heads. The unprincipled
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1727.

and unthinking duke of Wharton disgraced the finest parts and best education by the bad use he made of both; and, with the capacity of a Tully, became, like Clodius, a profligate and wretched incendiary (34). The restless bishop of Rochester, disappointed in his hopes of a primacy (35), with superior abilities, a classical purity of language, and an austere dignity of action, stood forth the champion of a constitution which he attempted to subvert (36), and of a church whose principles he possibly disbelieved (37). Human nature, degraded by these instances of the abuse that may be made of her gifts, seemed to recover her dignity in some men of great, though very different, merit. Slow in his parts, rough in his manner, impatient of contradiction, the humane, generous, and benevolent, lord Townshend, was inelegant in his language, often perplexed in his arguments; but always spoke sensibly, and with a thorough knowledge of the subject.

John, duke of Argyle, discovered the man of quality in all his discourses, no less than in all his actions: he was a most pleasing speaker, though perhaps not the closest reasoner; and, being himself moved, he warmed, he charmed, he ravished the audience (38). A happy mixture of the two preceding characters was found in lord Carteret. Master of ancient as well as modern languages, this great imitator of Demosthenes (39) possessed a most uncommon share of learning, and had made the laws of his own and of other countries his particular study. His political knowledge of the interests of princes and of commerce was extensive; his notions were great, perhaps not always just. As a speaker, he had a wonderful quickness and precision in seizing the weak and strong side of a question, which no art or sophistry could disguise to him; and his talents

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talents in the argumentative were not inferior to those in the declamatory way. Lord Scarborough was a strong, though not an eloquent or florid speaker in parliament; his discourses were the honest dictates of his heart. Truth and virtue seemed to borrow his voice, and give such weight to all he said, that he more than once carried an unwilling majority after him. The same thing may be said of a nobleman cotemporary with those I just now named; who, still living, preserves in the most advanced age that vigor and presence of mind which distinguished all his life, and will be remembered by posterity with that reverence which is due to great honor and great truth [40]. Many other characters might be sketched, and some will come in course in a subsequent period; but these may be sufficient to give some idea of the eloquence of those times. Besides, I am sensible how unequal I am to such sketches, fitter for the masterly hand of him whose picture I am attempting to draw.

Lord Chesterfield's eloquence, though the fruit of study and imitation, was in great measure his own. Equal to most of his cotemporaries in elegance and perspicuity, perhaps surpassed by some in extensiveness and strength, he could have no competitors in choice of imagery, taste, urbanity, and graceful irony. This turn might originally have risen from the delicacy of his frame, which, as on one hand it deprived him of the power of working forcibly upon the passions of his hearers, enabled him on the other to affect their finer sensations by nice touches of raillery and humor. His strokes, however poignant, were always under the controul of decency and sense. He reasoned best, when he appeared most witty; and, while he gained the affections of his hearers,

hearers, he turned the laugh on his opposers, and often forced them to join in it [41].

1727.

It might, in some degree, be owing to this particular turn that our nobleman was not heard with so much applause in the lower as in the upper house. Refined wit and delicate irony are often lost in popular and numerous assemblies. Strength, either of argument or voice, a flow of pompous words, and a continual appeal to the passions, are in such places the best arms to support a good cause or to defend a bad one. The case is very different in the house of peers. Minds cast in a finer mould, affect to despise what they style the vulgar arts; and, raised equally above fears and feelings, can only be affected by wit and ridicule, and love to find some of that elegant urbanity and convivial pleasantry which charms them in private life.

Of all the modes of eloquence this seems to be the most difficult. As it cannot be practised without great variety, and is above the reach of moderate parts, it constantly stands in need of encouragements and assistance. A man of letters, not destitute of abilities and imagination, may in his study, by constant application to the works of the great orators of Athens and of Rome, acquire the knack (for often it is not much more [42]) of striking his hearers with terror, of inflaming them with indignation, or of melting them into softness and tears [43]. But the art of managing irony and pleasantry with advantage is a peculiar gift, and requires a constant intercourse with people of fashion and men of wit. Lord Chesterfield was early [44] acquainted with those, who in his time deservedly enjoyed the most distinguished reputation; and he somewhere mentions to his son his happiness, in having been introduced to these great men, notwithstanding his inferiority

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riority of age. Among his friends, were Mr. Addison, sir John Van Brugh [45], Dr. Garth, and Dr. Arbuthnot [47], Mr. Gay [48], Mr. Pope [49], and several more. Though the last of these great writers seemed in public conversation continually afraid that the man should degrade the poet, and did not easily familiarise himself with those who wished to procure an intimacy with him; yet he very soon attached himself to lord Chesterfield, admitted him in his private parties, and was particularly desirous of enjoying his company in his retirement at Twickenham. There he made himself most agreeable to those whom he thus distinguished. The wit and taste of our English nobleman was not a little improved by this intimate intercourse, in which he had opportunities likewise to observe the English bard's charitable disposition, and natural benevolence of mind, notwithstanding the load of infirmities which in some degree contributed to whet the edge of his satire, and induced him to treat without mercy those who assumed any kind of superiority over, or happened to offend, him.

It may easily be conceived that a society, composed of such men, must have been to the highest degree entertaining and instructive. It was so esteemed; and is so spoken of by those who had the honor of being admitted into it. At Mr. Pope's garden at Twickenham, especially, the flower of the nobility met without any pageantry of state, jealousy of party, or distinction of sect [50]. Amongst these were, Cobham, Bathurst, Queensbury, Pulteney, Orrery, Lyttleton, Marchmont, Murray, names sacred in the annals of their country, and immortalised by the poet they loved. The head and the heart were both improved by such a familiar intercourse of true greatness and genius. To these eminent

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nent judges, as well as patrons of wit, the young author submitted his first essays, and received encouragement and advice. By their assistance and credit the veteran poet was often relieved, and sometimes supported against the frowns of courts, and under the pressure of old age and of want [49]. Sentiments of benevolence and generosity were impressed upon the soul of him, whom pride was likely to mislead, or avarice to corrupt. Such were the friends, whom lord Chesterfield was so happy to be connected with; in their company, and by their joint assistance and encouragement, Pope sketched his ethic epistles, which point out to man his grandeur and his weakness; and his immortal satires, which, in this island, have most seasonably stopped the progress of pedantry and false taste.

Swift seems to have been much less intimate with our earl, though he attempted to become so [50]. Perhaps it were to be wished that lord Chesterfield had maintained the same reserve with lord Bolingbroke; but lord Bolingbroke was not to be resisted. In that extraordinary man, nature seems to have blended two different and opposite souls; and he might have been the greatest character of his, or of any age, if, in many respects, he had not shewn himself the weakest [51]. Lord Chesterfield's acquaintance with Bolingbroke commenced long before the great opposition to sir Robert Walpole, and perhaps was begun at Paris. One reason of this connection was certainly, that much could be learned from him, particularly with regard to public affairs; and, though the earl by no means adopted either his political or religious principles in their full extent, he continued in great intimacy with him to his death. I have been told, that king George I. who owned himself under great obligations to lord Bolingbroke,

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intended, if he had lived to return to England, to have made him prime minister; and I should believe this intelligence sufficiently well-grounded [52], if, on the other hand, no less respectable authorities did not oblige me to suspend my judgment on this point [53]. Posterity will, perhaps, continue some time in the same state of indecision.

Several foreigners, who have since made a shining figure in the republic of letters, visited England during this period, and formed intimate connections with our earl. Some of the principal were Algarotti, the happy imitator of Fontenelle [54], Montesquieu, and Voltaire. The author of the Persian letters spent two years in this country, the best part of which were taken up in studying that admirable constitution he was so fond of, and has so well described. He could not derive his informations from better authority than lord Chesterfield. It is said that Montesquieu, in mixt companies, did not appear equal to the idea conceived of him; but he is universally allowed to have been most amiable, sprightly, and universal, in select societies. Such a man could not fail to please; and, having once pleased, soon to become the friend of lord Chesterfield. We find accordingly that they kept up a regular correspondence, which only ended with Montesquieu's life.

The young author of the *Henriade* came into England a few years before, with a view to publish his poem; and, at the same time, to improve his knowledge and his taste. The patronage of the princess of Wales, afterwards queen Caroline [55], was procured by lord Chesterfield, one of the best judges of such a poem, and of the same age with the writer [56]. And, indeed, these considerations seem

seem somewhat to have influenced his judgment, both of the poem and of the man.

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It would be a matter of astonishment, if human nature did not afford numerous instances of similar inconsistencies, to find that the same man, who was so delicate and so happy in the choice of his societies, should have shewn himself so defective in that of his amusements. We wish it were possible to suppress this article; but, if the principal merit of a picture consists in representing faithfully its original, we cannot omit the shades occasioned by his lordship's immoderate attachment to pleasure, and particularly to gaming. This last passion, the least excusable of all, especially when not fostered by want, or accompanied with skill, was in every period of his life equally detrimental to his character and fortune [57]. It engaged him every night in the company of people, with whom he would have been ashamed to have been seen at any other time. He knew, and despised, yet could not shun, them [58]. Crouds flocked round the gaming table, to enjoy so unequal a strife; in which, while his pocket was picked, the applause, which the repeated flashes of his wit drew from all around, seemed to make him abundant amends for his losses [59].

Having thus described lord Chesterfield's preparations for his political career, we shall now endeavour to give the best account we can of him in this new scene. But, on seeing him launch forth from a life spent in polite studies, elegant conversation, ease and pleasure, to one of labor, difficulties and dangers; we experience the same feelings, which would be raised by the sight of a friend embarking, in order to pursue, upon uncertain seas, and in unexplored countries, that fortune and honor, which heaven gave, and he leaves behind him. Our ad-

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miration of his courage can only be equalled by our anxiety for his safety; and, while from the shore we follow him as far as our eyes are able to reach, we cannot help expressing our earnest wish, that he may be restored to us not much the worse for so perilous a voyage.

SECTION



Massard sc.

S E C T I O N III.

LORD Chesterfield was three and thirty years of age, when the crown of Great Britain devolved on a prince, in whose family and favor he had continued thirteen years. His sentiments, on this occasion, may easily be conceived; and he had an early opportunity of expressing them, as well as the wishes of the nation, in the speech he made in the house of lords, to introduce the motion for the address of condolence, of congratulation, and of thanks to the king, a fortnight after the death of his father.

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As the earl's joy, on this occasion, was natural, his expectations must likewise have been great. If sufferings in the prince's cause, if the refusal of considerable offers to detach him from his service, if trials of zeal, and all the attentions of a courtier joined to the abilities of a statesman, could have secured a master's affection, he had every reason to hope that he should succeed in a short time to the same degree of influence and trust with George II. which earl Stanhope had deservedly acquired with George I.

The first appearances, however, were different. The sovereign, at his accession, seemed rather more disposed to forget former offences, than anxious to reward past services. Few changes were made in
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1727. public offices; the prince re-admitted several, who, having formerly belonged to his court, had since thought proper to desert it; and it was soon observed that some persons, who had been most in favor with the late king, were likely to enjoy the same influence under the present reign.

Whether the earl's attachment was thought so strong as not to require any immediate encouragement, or whether a want of obsequiousness, even at that early period [1], diverted for some time the course of royal favors from him, is uncertain. His name, however, was not in the list of promotions; he kept only his post of lord of the bed-chamber, and was not even restored to the place of captain of the yeomen of the guard, which on his dismissal had been bestowed on the earl of Leicester. Lord Scarborough seemed to have been distinguished more early. He was immediately appointed master of the horse, and made a member of the privy council, into which lord Chesterfield was not admitted till six months afterwards.

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But whatever the minister's views, in sending him as ambassador to the Hague, may have been, the post itself was equally suited to lord Chesterfield's taste

taste and abilities, and he was determined to distinguish himself in this station, that it might be a step to his further elevation.

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The choice of his attendants was his first object, and he was in general directed in it by the strictest laws of decency and propriety. The honorable John Stanhope, his brother, was, at his recommendation, appointed secretary of embassy. In him, he was sure to find an amiable companion and a true friend; but could neither expect a guide, nor apprehend a rival. Indeed it was at all times his principle, to suffer no person about him, who might assume the consequence of a prime minister.

The other persons, who composed his family, were either such as he himself perfectly knew, or who were recommended to him, by those, with whom he was most intimate. To lord Bolingbroke he was indebted for the choice of his equerry Mr. now colonel Rutter, a gentleman often mentioned with distinction in his letters.

Dr. Broxholm, his friend as well as his physician, a man of taste as well as great skill in his profession, introduced to his lordship his brother-in-law, who, from a happy and singular conformity of character, manners, and inclinations, soon became particularly attached to him. He was a second son, of a good family, and about eighteen years old. His father Anthony Hammond, esq; was one of the commissioners of the navy, accounted a good speaker in parliament, and well known by the name of silver-tongued Hammond, given to him by lord Bolingbroke. He was a man of wit, but, not unlike other orators, wanted conduct, and had, as lord Chesterfield used to say, "all the senses but common sense."

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He, however, did not neglect the education of his son, and sent him to Westminster school, where he laid in a considerable stock of classical and polite learning. Born a poet, and endowed with a considerable share of sensibility as well as delicacy, he was particularly happy in imitating those great masters of antiquity, whose writings contain the most faithful representations of the human heart, and in particular that poet, who, in this respect, has excelled them all, Tibullus. His life was a remarkable instance of the different use that can be made of great talents. He divided his time between the pursuit of pleasures and fashionable amusements, and a close attention to his favorite study of poetry; but these two objects could not, at the same time, occupy his soul. When he was the man of the world, the agreeable companion, the lively wit, he entirely lost sight of books and studies. But these times of dissipation were succeeded by intervals of retirement. In these, which often lasted many weeks, he shut himself up, and devoted himself to the service of his favorite authors; from whom he afterwards returned to the world with a fresh stock of fancy and spirits. His heart was a most friendly one, and he enjoyed every opportunity of obliging, in a manner peculiar to himself. The ambassador loved him with all his singularities, which in some measure were his own. Their intimacy grew to a very great degree, and shewed itself, even after the death of the poet.

But it was particularly from the hands of friendship that he received his chaplain. Richard Chenevix, born in England, but of a distinguished family in France, was chosen for this office. This gentleman's father, one of the unfortunate victims of

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of perfecution, driven out of his native country by the repeal of the edict of Nantz, had served as exempt in a troop of horse-guards, at the time that lord Scarborough's father commanded that corps, and afterwards died gloriously at Blenheim, at the head of the second squadron of carabineers, of which he was major. His second son, who was the earl of Scarborough's godson, was educated at the university of Cambridge, afterwards went into orders, and was appointed domestic chaplain to the earl of Scarborough, and to the lord Whitworth at the congress of Cambray. On his return to England, lord Scarborough recommended him to lord Chesterfield, to accompany him to Holland. The choice of a clergyman, who understood and could speak the French and English languages equally well, was particularly proper, as it was then intended that the earl, after staying some time in Holland, should go from thence ambassador to France [3]. Mr. Chenevix was told by his patron that he would then be obliged to preach in French as well as in English. Lord Stair was the last of the English ambassadors, who had divine service performed in his chapel in the language of the country; and there is great reason to believe that lord Chesterfield would have followed the example of his predecessor, but he was not put to the trial. The distinguished manner, in which he acquitted himself of the embassy at the Hague [4], engaged the king to continue him at that place much longer than he at first intended. The personal regard which lord Chesterfield professed to his death for this worthy clergyman, and the warm sentiments of affection which the bishop of Waterford retains for the memory of his patron, do equal honor to both.

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From the nature of lord Chesterfield's education, and his studious manner of life, but still much more from his intercourse with most experienced statesmen of different principles, it may be judged, that he had acquired no inconsiderable fund of political knowledge; yet he was diffident of himself, and thought it proper to recur to other helps. We have seen that a course of lectures in civil law had been the principal object of his studies at Cambridge; but these lectures, even supposing them to have been well attended by him, did not comprehend the laws and customs of other countries. Immediately, therefore, upon his arrival at the Hague, he applied to a celebrated professor [5] of the university of Leyden; and, at his recommendation, took into his house a gentleman who was perfectly well qualified to instruct him in the science both of the civil law and the imperial code.

But lord Chesterfield was thoroughly sensible, that knowledge alone, however extensive, would avail him but little in his political career, unless adorned with other ministerial accomplishments. He wished to be a man of the world, as well as a man of business; and had strongly imbibed the idea, that labour and pleasure were not incompatible, and that the one contributed to heighten the taste of the other. His first occupation in the morning was to write his dispatches; and, as he left little for his secretary to do, he frequently staid in his room till dinner-time, unless business called him out. Sometimes he returned there in the afternoon; but, in general, like those of the famous De Witt [6], his evenings were spent in assemblies and amusements [7]. These very amusements furnished him with many opportunities, which he never neglected, of studying characters; so that, in the midst of his pleasures,

pleasures, he never lost sight of his main object, which was, to distinguish himself as a man of business.

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In the middle of the year 1728 he arrived at the Hague. This village is justly considered as the capital of the United Provinces, and, almost for these two centuries past, has been the center of the most important negociations [8]. A foreign minister cannot be in a better school for improving his talents, and exercising his patience, both from the character of the nation, and from the nature of its constitution. As this differs, in many respects, from that of most other modern states; and as, among the ancient, none comes nearer to it than the confederacy of the Achæans; it will not be improper to insert here a short sketch of it.

It consists of seven provinces, various in extent, unequal in force, and often divided in interest. Each of the provinces is composed of several towns or cities, every one of which has its own government and laws, and is as independent of its neighbours, as the provinces are both of each other and of the state. Supreme authority resides in every part, and common interest affords the only bond of union. In order to carry on the public concerns, a certain number of deputies from each province meet, at stated times, at the Hague, and compose what is called, the Assembly of the States General [9]. The majority there decides, but only in common matters [10]. Affairs of importance, such as war, taxes, navigation, the regulation of the colonies, &c. are referred to each of the provinces; and although each of them has its own states, these cannot give their final consent till they have procured the suffrages of every one of the voting towns. This previous application to each of these single commu-

1728. communities, and their approbation, are seldom dispensed with, except in cases where necessity takes place of law. The difficulties in obtaining this unanimity are great, and the inconveniencies attending it obvious; dispatch and secrecy can never be expected, and the door is left open for cabals and machinations. It sometimes happens, that the refusal of one small town stops a resolution; and that its consent cannot be obtained without some stipulation in favor of one of the magistrates [11]. These inconveniencies are, in great measure, prevented, when the republic has a chief, of power and influence sufficient to prevail over private interest and intrigues [12]. When there is no stadtholder, as was the case during lord Chesterfield's embassies, the great officers of state supply his place, though destitute of his power. Their acknowledged talents and experience procure them the confidence of the provinces, and their advice is generally followed. The principal of these officers bears the title of grand pensionary of Holland, and was formerly stiled their advocate [13]. He is constantly appointed by the province of Holland, which, though only the second in rank, is by far the most considerable in opulence and credit [14]. The pensionary regularly attends the meeting of the States General, as well as those of his province, and he may be looked upon as prime minister [15]. It is with him that foreign ministers negotiate, and that those of the States in foreign courts correspond. He is elected only for five years; but he may be, and most commonly is, continued at the expiration of that term. The importance of this post has ever excluded from it persons of inferior abilities; and the list of those, who have filled it, contains the respectable names of Barneveldt, Catz [16], De Witt, Fagel, Heinsius [17], &c. Slingeland, an old
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and experienced magistrate of one of the principal towns, at the time of lord Chesterfield's embassy, occupied that important place; as Fagel most ably filled that of Greffier, or secretary of state. With these two, but chiefly with the first, our ambassador contracted a greater intimacy than it is commonly supposed can subsist between the prime minister of one power and the ambassador of another [18]; but lord Chesterfield's own account of the nature of their connection, is sufficient to remove this seeming inconsistency [19]. "Mr. Slingeland," says he, "was the ablest minister, and the greatest man I ever knew. I may justly call him my friend, my master, and my guide, for I was then quite new in business; he instructed me, he loved me, he trusted me." The man, who having had such obligations to another, scruples not to own them, must himself be very great.

The ambassador found a most useful assistant in James Dayrolles, his majesty's resident at the Hague. The regard he had for that old and experienced minister did not cease at the death of the latter, but was transferred to his nephew, the present Mr. Solomon Dayrolles. This gentleman, who possessed his lordship's confidence and friendship, and kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with him, after having successively and most ably filled the posts of resident minister at the Hague, and minister and commissary plenipotentiary at Brussels, is now retired from public employments, and enjoys that general respect which is justly due to his services and merit.

The ministers of the other princes, who were at the Hague during the same period with lord Chesterfield, were chiefly men of eminence, who were far advanced in the political career when his lordship

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ship was commencing it. As the interests of their respective courts were very different from those of Great Britain, he was obliged to keep a watchful eye over them, to penetrate into their secrets, while he concealed his own, and to oppose or prevent their plans and intrigues, by supporting, at the same time, the almost irreconcilable character of their personal friend and political adversary. The *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, which he afterwards so strongly recommended to his son, together with the *volti sciolti & pensieri stretti*, became rules as familiar to him as they were necessary. He conversed, without any apparent prejudice, with the heads of the opposite parties in Holland; he directed his pursuits to a constant point of view, and carried them on without heat or affectation, but with firmness and perseverance. He sometimes was best pleased when he appeared least so, and often concealed his difficulties under the mask of ease and indifference.

The marquis of Fenelon, heir to the merit as well as to the name of the author of *Telemachus* [20], had, for some years, been ambassador from the court of France, when lord Chesterfield first came to the Hague. These two noblemen were both young, possessed of similar talents, and equally desirous of distinguishing themselves. Actuated by a powerful spirit of emulation, they strove to excel each other in industry and application, as well as in politeness and splendor, and were no less attentive to support the dignity of their characters than the authority of their respective nations.

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Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, were at that time engaged in one common cause. Their object was, to maintain the peace of Europe, and to extinguish the flames of a general war, which were

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were beginning to break out. The emperor Charles VI. and Philip V. king of Spain had for a while suspended their animosities, and had entered into an alliance, in order to be revenged on those who interposed to prevent them from pursuing their reciprocal claims. This forced the English ministers into a stricter union with those of France. The emperor being highly dissatisfied with the king of Great Britain, not merely because his majesty had declined the office of mediator between him and his rival, but more especially on account of his refusing to become a guarantee of his possessions after his death, threatened his new electoral acquisitions; and, notwithstanding the representations of the United Provinces, endeavoured to establish an East India company at Ostend. The king of Spain, on his side, finding an insurmountable opposition from the British nation to the cession of Gibraltar, which some indecisive expressions, in a letter from the late king [21], had induced him to demand, attempted the reduction of that important fortress, and refused to restore several ships illegally taken in America, as well as to give satisfaction to the Dutch on their commercial complaints.

Notwithstanding these hostile proceedings, the view of the two princes was not to break with the maritime powers; but rather to engage them, as parties, in their disputes. An establishment for the Spanish prince, Don Carlos, in Italy, had been the great object of the court of Spain, and was as warmly opposed by that of Vienna. Neither the congress of Cambray, nor that of Soissons, had been able, in the course of many years, to adjust the manner and conditions of this settlement; and nothing seemed remaining but the alternative of a rupture with either of the two courts. France could not
have

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have avoided taking part in such a war, for which she was not as yet sufficiently prepared. It was, therefore, thought proper to detach Spain from her new connections with the Imperial court, and to reconcile her with England and France. This was effected by the treaty concluded and signed at Seville, in the month of November 1729. An English fleet was promised to the infant of Spain, to protect the landing of six thousand of his countrymen in Italy, and to secure to him the eventual succession to Parma and Placentia.

Philip and his father, on their part, together with the French king, guaranteed all the possessions of the British crown in every part of the world, according to former treaties; and this was supposed to imply a formal renunciation of Gibraltar and Minorca. They likewise agreed to respect for the future the British trade in America, and to restore the ships that had been seized. The Dutch, at last acceding to the treaty, obtained a satisfaction with regard to their complaints; and his Catholic majesty promised to concur in the abolition of the Ostend company. He even consented, which none of his predecessors had done, to allow the States their title of high and mighty, and to treat with them, in every respect, as with crowned heads [22].

The persons concerned in this negociation were those who had been employed as plenipotentiaries at the congress of Soissons. Colonel Stanhope was one of them; and, on account of this and other services, he was soon after created a peer, by the title of lord Harrington, and appointed ambassador to the court of Madrid. Mr. Horace Walpole, the prime minister's brother, was, however, supposed to have been principal agent in this treaty, which he ever after defended with great warmth [23]. It does
not

not appear, that the earl of Chesterfield was concerned in this transaction, any otherwise than in giving notice of it, by order of his court, to the States General, from whom, as well as from the emperor, it had long been concealed. Were we to form any conjectures, from the decisive part which his lordship afterwards took in the parliamentary debates relative to Spain, we should be induced to suspect, that the treaty never met with his approbation [24].

The establishment of a new East India company at Altena, under the protection of the king of Denmark, had lately been attempted. Subscriptions for it were solicited even in Holland; and the desire of gain encouraged several monied people to become adventurers in this undertaking. Great Britain could not patiently suffer, any more than the United Provinces, such a scheme to be carried into execution. The ambassador's pen was usefully employed in the support of their rights, and the masterly memoir which he composed on this occasion, in conjunction with one of the deputies of the States, was delivered by him to the Danish minister at the Hague [25]. Their opposition was successful; and this company, as well as that of Ostend, was soon afterwards entirely abolished.

Lord Chesterfield had a still greater share in a matter seemingly of less consequence, but which nearly concerned his master, as elector of Hanover. The king of Prussia had married his sister, and a new alliance between the two families, by means of a double marriage, had been proposed on the accession of George II. to the crown; and, on account of some matters of punctilio, refused [26]. "The ties of blood," says an energetic writer [27], "have but a feeble hold on princes. Thus, notwithstanding

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“ the courts of Berlin and Hanover were so nearly related, interest had set them at variance, not only with regard to the affair of Mecklenburg, but also on certain family claims, at that time unadjusted ; as likewise, that there was a sort of rivalry between the families, and any access of interest and power to the one was sure to give umbrage to the other.” Levies of men were forcibly raised in the Hanoverian dominions by Prussian emissaries ; and these proceedings occasioned retaliations on the side of Hanover. The two monarchs felt themselves offended still more as private gentlemen than as sovereigns ; and, as both possessed great personal bravery, the repetition of the scene between Charles V. and Francis I. was talked of. If royal disputes were suffered to be settled in this manner, contentions between crown heads would be more rare and less destructive. In the present case, the *delirant reges plectuntur Achivi* was, for the thousandth time, likely to have been verified. The country of Hanover was threatened with an invasion, which it was but ill-prepared to resist. No assistance from England could reasonably be desired, or obtained without difficulty ; as, by the act of settlement, the kingdom was not to be concerned in the wars of the electorate, and no pretence could be alledged to elude this article. Our ambassador’s zeal was happily exerted in preventing the consequences of this dispute. On his application to the States, a letter was written, in their name, to the king of Prussia, to intreat him to suspend hostilities, and listen to conciliatory terms [28]. To add weight to this letter, several Dutch regiments received orders to march towards Cleves. This step had the desired effect ; an arbitration was proposed and accepted ; and soon after an accommodation took place, which did not, however, produce a sincere reconciliation between the brother kings.

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The education of kings can hardly permit them to feel like men. Happy those, whose hearts are not insensible to the calls of gratitude and humanity ! That of George II. was for the most part in a state of neutrality ; but, if any thing could rouse him from that indifference, it certainly was his native country. As his first movements were generally on the side of justice and of truth, he expressed his approbation of lord Chesterfield's conduct, with a warmth not very usual to him ; and it may be presumed, that, being at Hanover, he expressed these sentiments with less reserve than he might have done in London. In that capital of his little empire, he thought himself greater than any where else, and he enjoyed in it more freedom and more happiness. He had with him none of his English ministers, except lord Townshend, who still occupied the place of secretary of state, but had lost the influence in the cabinet which he possessed under the late king. Being now reduced to act a secondary part, he wished for an opportunity of recovering his former superiority ; and having secured, as he flattered himself, a private interest with his master, he thought the present instant favourable, and resolved to try the experiment, however hazardous it might be. The other secretary of state was the duke of Newcastle, formerly obnoxious to the king [29], but reconciled to him by sir Robert Walpole and the queen, who at St. James's at least, had more than a deliberative voice. Lord Townshend attempted to remove the duke ; and, in order to lessen the influence of his rival, and to increase his own, he was desirous of having his friend lord Chesterfield for his colleague. These views, however, he concealed, and only acquainted him, that, as the king appeared pleased with his negotiation, he would do well, when he waited upon his majesty at Helvoet-Sluys, to desire the permission

1729. of attending him to London, on account of private business. Thus far every thing succeeded. The ambassador was graciously received by the monarch; who thanked him for his services, and readily granted his request. It may be presumed, that lord Townshend had received some encouragement from his master to persist in his scheme; but the private cabinet had not been consulted, and it was too alert and powerful not to baffle this attempt [30]. Lord Townshend, far from being able to displace the duke of Newcastle, was himself forced to resign; and lord Chesterfield, instead of being made secretary of state, saw lord Harrington succeed his friend in that office.

1730. His disappointment was, in some measure, made up to him by the place of high steward of his majesty's household [31] and the garter, which had been the supreme object of his wishes. He was installed at Windsor the 18th of June, with the duke of Cumberland, and at the expence of the sovereign, who was present at the ceremony. He soon after left England [32], and returned to his post.

Business of importance awaited him in Holland. The emperor was highly displeased, that the treaty of Seville had been concluded; and Philip V. was no less so, that it still remained unexecuted. France, since the birth of the dauphin in 1729, had renewed her old connexions with the court of Madrid, and was projecting new schemes against the house of Austria. The maritime powers were accused, not altogether without reason, of having delayed the promised conveyance of the Infant into Italy.

1731. The French ambassador pressed the States to fulfil their engagements and break off with the emperor; and the Spanish ambassador at Paris openly declared,

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declared, that, these engagements having been violated by the allies, his master would no longer be restrained by those he had entered into [33]. Nothing could be more inconsistent with the interests of Great Britain than to commence a war with the house of Austria. Far from desiring to destroy the only barrier against the rising and aspiring power of the Bourbons, both the English and Dutch sincerely wished it might be strengthened. The ancient system, too long neglected, was now to be revived; and the Imperial court was to be induced, by some equivalent, to desist from its opposition to the treaty of Seville. This would have been a difficult task, if particular reasons had not disposed the emperor to comply with the solicitations of his former allies. He had no male heir, and earnestly wished that his hereditary dominions might, after his death, pass undivided to one of his daughters. Such an arrangement had been long before proposed, and was called the pragmatic sanction. By the French it was rejected at the congress of Soissons, for this plain reason, that it was contrary to their views ever since the administration of cardinal Richelieu. The British cabinet at the same time, though strongly solicited by the Imperial court, declined entering into this engagement. But circumstances were altered; the political mist began to disperse, and the ministry were apparently disposed to purchase, at any price, the emperor's consent, both to the Seville articles, and to the abolition of the Ostend company. A secret negotiation was accordingly set on foot at the Hague, between the British ambassador, the Imperial envoy [34], and the grand pensionary of Holland. The articles, being settled among the three ministers, were sent to the court of Vienna; where, after some private stipulation in favor of Hanover, and without waiting for the deliberations of the United Provinces,

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the treaty was signed on the 16th of March. The consent of the States to the treaty was afterwards demanded in form, and with some difficulty obtained. This secret and important negociation did great honor to the conciliatory talents of lord Chesterfield, who in this, as well as in several other parts of his ministry, seems to have taken Sir William Temple for his model [35]: yet, without his own account of this transaction, the great share he had in it could only have been surmised [36].

1732.

There is reason to believe, that, besides these national concerns, our ambassador employed himself usefully in favour of the house of Orange. He declared to the grand pensionary [37], that, although he had received no positive orders to that effect, yet he would, to the utmost of his power, promote the views of the family, from a conviction, that the interest both of his own country and of the republic required it. His early connections with the young and amiable offspring of that house were publicly known [38]. The prince, who was then completing his studies at the university, whenever he came to the Hague, was always magnificently entertained by the earl, who kept up a constant correspondence with him, and continued, during his life, to be his well-wisher, encourager, and friend. Though he could not prevent the resolutions, by which the states of Zealand, in conjunction with those of Holland, thought proper to set aside the prince's claim to the marquisesates of Terveer and Flessingen, he certainly contributed a great deal to lessen the influence of the republican party. He foresaw, and earnestly advised, the re-establishment of the stadtholder, and made the first overtures of the prince's marriage with the princess royal of England, which was concluded some time after [39]. When all these facts are combined,

combined, it will scarcely be denied, that George II. ^{1732.} had no less personal obligations to the earl of Chesterfield than the prince of Wales had had to lord Stanhope [40].

During lord Chesterfield's residence at the Hague, the duke of Lorrain, the intended husband to the emperor's eldest daughter, and afterwards emperor himself, made a tour through England and Holland. This young prince treated our ambassador with particular marks of distinction and friendship, on account of his warm solicitations in favour of the house of Austria. This attachment extended even to his social hours so far that he chose to be made a freemason by lord Chesterfield, in a lodge composed of his excellency, Mr. John Stanhope his brother, Mr. Strickland nephew to the bishop of Namur [41], Dr. Desaguliers [42], and one of his friends.

To enjoy the fruits of his labors, and to recover his health, which, as well as his fortune, had been greatly impaired, lord Chesterfield desired to be recalled. His request was granted, and perhaps for the very reason that had procured him his appointment, the fear of his acquiring too great an interest with his sovereign. His disorder, which was the consequence of a fever, baffled for a long time the efforts of the physicians, and the swelling of his legs could not be dispersed in less than six months [43].

On the recovery of his health, he began to appear as a speaker in the house of lords. We have already seen that eloquence had been his favourite pursuit from his youth; and he frequently told his chaplain, before his return from his embassy, that he intended to exert all his powers to distinguish himself as an orator. He, at first, appeared to be on good terms with the prime minister [44], and supported his measures. In the debate upon the reduction of the number
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ber of troops from 18,000 to 12,000 men, he in conjunction with the duke of Argyle, stood up one of the first to oppose it. The argument he made use of seemed to be convincing. He insisted, that the present number was barely sufficient for the security of the nation, but by no means considerable enough to inspire any fears. He professed, that he had too good an opinion of his countrymen, to think they could be enslaved by so small a body; and of the gentlemen of the army, to imagine they would be base enough to concur in such a design. However he may since have varied in his opinion concerning a standing army, he never could be persuaded to approve of a militia to replace it.

Notwithstanding these appearances of harmony and friendship, it was scarcely to be expected, that a real or lasting confidence could be established between Sir Robert Walpole and lord Chesterfield. The former dreaded a rival, the latter could not brook a superior. The art of obliging was too well known to the earl, too little to the minister. Absolute dependence was expected by the one, and could not be submitted to by the other. An opportunity soon offered, which discovered both their dispositions. The excise scheme [45] proposed by the minister, perhaps with a view to the interest of his country, was principally disliked from an apprehension, that it might add to his power, at the same time that it increased the revenue. It was represented as an infringement upon national liberty, as well as private security and honor. An universal clamor was raised throughout the kingdom; the court experienced an almost total desertion; and, finding some of its firmest friends on the side of opposition [46], was at last obliged to yield, though with reluctance; and the minister narrowly escaped being involved in the fate of his bill.

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This was the decisive moment in which our earl openly declared himself against the ministry. He expressed, in the strongest terms, his disapprobation of the scheme, and his three brothers voted against it in the house of commons. Unable to stem the impetuosity of the torrent, Sir Robert gave way to it, and by this prudent conduct, at the same time that he preserved, or rather increased, his influence with the ruling power, he detected and rendered ineffectual the projects of his enemies. To themselves alone their victory was fatal ; and the minister, though in general not of a vindictive turn, thought proper, if not to inspire terror, at least to excite a degree of caution by some examples of severity.

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The two noblemen who first experienced the effects of his resentment were lord Clinton [47] and lord Chesterfield. Some regard was paid to the latter, at least in appearance ; and, to avoid the odium of displacing him, endeavours were used to induce him to resign. But his lordship's intentions were different ; he would listen to no solicitations, and, with a view of becoming popular, was determined to suffer himself to be turned out. The excise bill was given up on the 11th of April, and the 13th was fixed for the earl's removal [48]. That day, as he came from the house of lords with the earl of Scarborough, and was going up the great stairs at St. James's, he was stopped by one of the duke of Grafton's servants, and told, that his grace had been that morning at his house, and wished to see him there, on business of importance. The earl's chariot not being at hand, he was carried home by his friend, and immediately followed by the duke of Grafton ; who informed him, that he came by the king's order to demand the surrender of his white staff. His lordship cheerfully complied ; and, without attempting
any

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any apology for his conduct, begged of his grace to assure his majesty, that he was ready to sacrifice every thing for his service, except his honor and conscience. Two days afterwards he wrote to the king, and expressed the same sentiments. This letter certainly did not lessen the resentment of a monarch, who, by his cotemporaries, is allowed to have been no dissembler. Lord Chesterfield took the first opportunity of going to court; but he was so far from being graciously received, that, contrary to his former intentions, he never again appeared in the royal presence, till the necessity of the times occasioned his recall. His place of lord steward was immediately after disposed of in favour of the duke of Devonshire.

The *eclat*, which attended the earl's dismissal, was still increased by the manner in which it was announced to the public. While the ministerial papers represented it in a light unfavourable to his lordship, the political publication, so well known under the name of *The Craftsman*, and in which lord Bolingbroke, together with Mr. Pulteney and several other persons of rank, on the side of opposition, were concerned, spared no pains to interest the nation in his favor. The author, after enumerating his lordship's services and eminent qualifications, concluded his account in the following words [49]. "The world seems greatly astonished at so unexpected an event; and those who are most zealous for the present royal family, grieve to see so able and faithful a servant dismissed in so critical a conjuncture." These inflaming expressions were highly offensive to the administration, and were accordingly severely criticised in one of the papers under their controul [50]. The writer exclaimed against the indecency of calling the king to an account for the choice

choice of his servants; and upbraided the earl, or his friends, with ingratitude, after having received so many marks of royal favor. Some misbehaviour or mistake, he said, might have necessitated his majesty to remove one whom he had so particularly distinguished; and he even hinted, that the reasons for this removal might be disclosed, if the authority of the house of lords, and the fear of an action for *scandalum magnatum*, did not deter the boldest man from speaking the truth of a peer, if to his disadvantage. Such illiberal insinuations engaged lord Chesterfield to send a message, in writing, to an anonymous author, who, in any other respect, would have been unworthy of his notice. He very nobly and politely set him at defiance, and gave him leave, freely to say what he knew, or what he pleased of him [51]. This public call, however, had no other effect than to draw, from the author, an evasive answer, for which he was severely lashed in some of the subsequent *Craftsmen* [52].

As lord Chesterfield had not stood single in the offence, neither was he the only object of resentment. The lords Cobham, Stair, and Westmoreland, who had declared their sentiments in the same manner, came to him immediately after his dismissal, and made him the offer to surrender directly the employments they held under the crown. This he politely declined; and advised them, even for the sake of the cause, to put the minister to the trouble of taking away their places. They accordingly were soon after dismissed; and with the duke of Montrose, the earl of Marchmont, and the earl of Burlington, considerably increased, in the house of lords, the party of the opposition.

SECTION

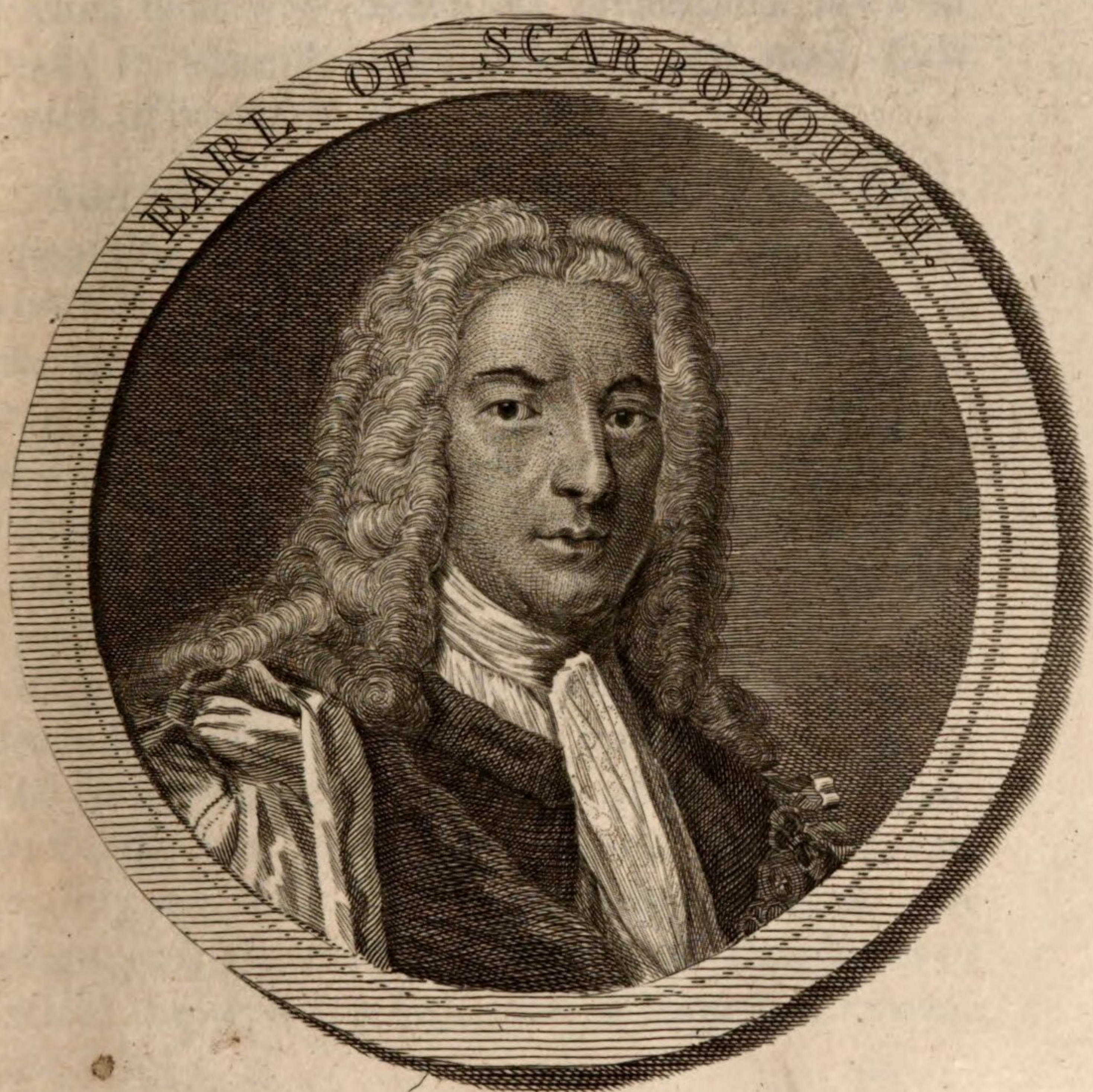
SECTION IV.

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IN all states, where the management of public affairs, though committed to the care of a few, is subject to the controul of the many, differences of opinion and of party must necessarily arise. Where senates and public assemblies can give or refuse their assent to the demands of a court; and, what is of more consequence, where they have the power of withholding or dispensing the wealth of the nation, each vote acquires a value, and every man rises in estimation, in proportion to his abilities or credit. The authority of the minister depends on the superiority of his talents, or the extent of his influence: and as it is impossible he should preserve his power at court, but by his interest in the *money-giving house*, as lord Chesterfield somewhere expresses it, he can hardly maintain his ground, unless he find some method of attaching to the court the majority of the members.

Opposition, therefore, must always be a minority, and, as political questions seldom admit of certainty, and frequently are of no great importance, honest men may divide on either side, and vote for or against the ministry, with a sincere belief that they are acting for the good of their country [1].

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In general it may be presumed, that the person at the helm means to steer right; and that, if he is sometimes engaged in a wrong course, his error proceeds more from necessity than inclination. His wisest schemes are frequently opposed; he finds himself obliged to accomplish his designs by indirect means, and, as he ventures on hazardous experiments, those who create his perplexities are ever ready to triumph in his mistakes, and make their profit of his losses.

1732.

Administration commonly acts under one head; opposition has all the disadvantages of anarchy and confusion. Popularity, or the affectation of it, is the aim of the leaders. Obtained with difficulty, it is not to be preserved but by unremitted industry. All who are led by vanity, interest, or caprice, to imagine themselves of consequence to their country, enlist under the banners of patriotism. Their army is generally composed of troops, which, with unequal discipline and different expectations, engage on the same side with no other view than that of sharing the spoil after victory, or of supplanting each other in the division. Each chief is flattered, and no one harshly rejected. Hence every day produces new plans, new allotments of office, new expedients to retain the wavering [2], new attempts to recover the lost.

Add to all this, that the minister is master of his ground. He chuses his opportunities, and, never unprepared himself, has many assistants at hand to supply him with arguments and facts. The opposer commonly sees but in part, has often short notice, and can hardly ever divide the business in a proper manner among his associates. Yet, notwithstanding the disadvantages arising from his situation, prejudices, and resentments, a popular tribune, in a country

1732.

country like this, is a most useful man. Ever on the watch, he awes ministers into vigilance and circumspection, and if he does not defend the constitution from every wound, he secures it from such as might prove incurable and fatal.

It is difficult for a writer, engaged in a work like this, to divest himself entirely of prejudice. Truth is often inscrutable, and, when discovered, cannot always be imparted with safety. All that can be expected is, that he should make use of the best materials he can find [3]; that he should steer a middle course between the opposite accounts, and enable as well as desire his readers to judge for themselves.

1733.

For twelve years the minister had reigned without much opposition; but the year of the excise-bill was the last of his tranquillity. The opposition had gained an advantage, and, from their present triumph, were encouraged to attempt fresh attacks. The officers of the South Sea company, who, notwithstanding their delinquency, were supposed to be favored by the minister, were called upon to produce their accounts; which were found both confused and defective. The disposal of the forfeited estates of the late directors was likewise inquired into, and the conduct of administration, in respect to this disposal, was severely, though unsuccessfully, arraigned. Great fault was found with the manner of bringing into parliament the bill for settling a portion upon the princess royal of England, now engaged to the prince of Orange. In these several debates, lord Chesterfield bore a principal part, and he joined in one of the protests.

No sooner was his lordship freed from the shackles of a court, than he submitted to the chains of matrimony.

1733.

trimony. He had, indeed, fallen into some gallantries before. From one of his connections, during his embassy in Holland, he had a son, who soon became the object of his fondness as well as of his cares. But his serious addresses had, many years before, been paid to Melosina de Schulenburg, a young lady belonging to one of the most considerable families in Germany [4]. Niece to the dutchess of Kendal, she had been particularly distinguished by the late king, and was created by him, in 1722, a peeress of Great Britain, under the titles of countess of Walsingham and baroness of Aldborough. Her fortune was suitable to her rank; and the amiableness of her character, the accomplishments of her mind, her taste for the fine arts, and in particular for music, rendered her a fit companion for lord Chesterfield. By her tenderness and virtues, she merited all the returns he could make; and by her prudent management, she helped to retrieve and improve his long-neglected estate. On changing her condition, she did not leave the dutchess of Kendal; and lord Chesterfield, who was their next neighbour in Grosvenor-square, most constantly divided his time between his business in his own house, and his attentions and duties at the other. Minerva presided in the first; and in the last, Apollo with the muses.

A voluntary exile from the royal presence, lord Chesterfield had not neglected assiduously to pay his respects to the prince of Wales, and was particularly well received at his court. His royal highness immediately sent his compliments to the new-married pair, and his attendants followed his example. The prince of Orange likewise, who, towards the end of the year, came over to England, on account of his own nuptials, did not neglect the friend to whom

1733.

whom he was chiefly beholden for that fortunate event [5]. He found him in a very different situation from that in which he could have wished to see him at court; but though surrounded with courtiers, and exposed to the risk of exciting displeasure, he shewed his affection and esteem to the late ambassador by every mark of confidence and regard [6]. A dangerous indisposition his highness was seized with, retarded, for several months, the celebration of the nuptials, which only took place in the month of March of the next year.

1734.

Sir Robert Walpole's antagonists had flattered themselves that the period of his disgrace was now at hand. They imagined, that the nation was sufficiently incensed; and, as the first parliament under this reign was within a year of its dissolution, they resolved to try their interest by a new popular exertion. It was thought, that the repeal of the septennial bill would meet with but little resistance from the members who wished to secure the favor of their constituents at the ensuing election. In this, however, the leaders of the opposition were disappointed. Though several of the members who, eighteen years before, were the promoters of this bill, now spoke against it, they were still outnumbered. Sir William Stanhope and his brothers were in the minority.

The opposition had no better success in the house of peers, though equally sanguine in its hopes. Lord Chesterfield took the earliest opportunity of declaring himself. He desired, that no words or expressions, employed in the address of thanks for the king's speech, should afterwards be made use of, either for or against any proposition that might be made, or any question that might arise in the house.

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The meaning of this declaration was soon evinced by the active part which he took in the subsequent debates.

1734.

The most important of these was occasioned by the removal of the duke of Bolton and lord Cobham from their regiments. These lords were supposed to have been dismissed, or, as our witty earl expressed it, whispered out of their commissions, merely on account of their not complying with the desires of the minister. A motion was made by the duke of Marlborough to restrain this power, which had constantly been exercised by the crown, and seemed inherent to the prerogative. The bill which he proposed was intended to prevent, for the future, all officers, above the rank of colonels, from being deprived of their commissions, otherwise than by judgment of a court martial, to be held for that purpose, or by address of either house of parliament. Of the several lords, who spoke in favor of the bill, none expressed himself with more warmth than lord Chesterfield [7]. He was complimented on that occasion by the duke of Argyle, who, being then still a courtier, opposed both the bill and the motion, which immediately followed, for presenting an address to his majesty, in order to be informed, by whose advice, and for what crimes, the two lords had been removed [8]. The fate of the bill decided that of the motion; both were rejected, and our earl joined in the protests that were drawn up by the considerable and respectable minority who divided on this occasion.

Nothing proves more evidently than this transaction with what different eyes persons, equally well-meaning, may view the same objects. Lord Chesterfield seems to have been as sincere in his approbation of this bill, as his bosom friend, lord Scarbo-

1734

rough, was in his opposition to it. And yet, when in the last reign a similar bill was drawn up by the late earl Stanhope, it had been equally approved by the two friends. The reasons and the occasion that induced them to think differently upon the same subject, are not known. Perhaps their various situation in life may have produced this effect. Lord Scarborough, being himself an officer, undoubtedly had better opportunities of being informed of every thing that had any relation to the good of the service; and he seems to have been really alarmed at the consequences which the bill, however well calculated to lessen ministerial influence, might have had in promoting military independency. It was in that light that he considered the question: fearing, however, lest it should be suspected, that the desire of keeping his places, both in the army and at court, had biased his judgment, he previously waited on the king, and having declared his motives, with great earnestness begged that he might be permitted to resign. His majesty pressed him a considerable time to desist from his resolution, and, finding him unalterably fixed, at last told him, “My lord, there is an employment you cannot in honor give up, which is your regiment; for you know, as well as I, we are upon the eve of a war.” This argument prevailed with his lordship; he contented himself with resigning his place of master of the horse, and, on coming down from the closet, ordered a chair to be called, and dismissed the king’s equipage [9]. Being thus free to declare for the court, without incurring the suspicion of being prompted to it by undue motives, he not only gave his vote against the second reading of the bill; but, notwithstanding the eloquent exertions of his friend, he made a motion to have it rejected, in order to prevent

prevent the like attempts for the future. His reasons were delivered with great strength and precision; but whether they occasioned any alteration in lord Chesterfield's opinion is less certain than that they produced none in his sentiments for so respectable a friend.

1734.

A message from the king, for a vote of credit, having been presented at the close of the session, met in both houses with a considerable opposition. A war had broken out in Europe, and its flames threatened to spread over this island. Prudence required that the nation should be prepared at all events: and the minister would have been culpable, had he neglected the means of putting the kingdom in a proper state of defence. It was particularly necessary to guard against any attempts that might be made during the time of anarchy and confusion always attending new elections. Obvious as these reasons seemed to be, they did not make an equal impression upon all the members. Lord Chesterfield, who happened to be again in opposition to the duke of Argyle, distinguished himself in his answer to his grace. He said, that “ what was demanded was not in the least necessary for the support of the king and the safety of the nation, though it might be necessary for the support of ministerial schemes, and for the support of ministerial personages. Coming at the end of the long session of a long parliament, it appeared to him in the same light as if an application should be made to a man on his death-bed, to bequeath all he has in the world to those who are utter strangers to him, nay who have been generally reputed his greatest enemies.” He owned, indeed, what was more fully insisted upon by lord Hardwicke, who made a short and nervous

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reply to his lordship, that by the constitution the kings always had a sort of dictatorial power, during the intervals of parliament, in case of any sudden or unexpected danger, to provide for the preservation of the commonwealth; but he pretended, that the asking for such a power before-hand looked suspicious, and, to illustrate his meaning, had recourse to this sarcastical comparison: "No man
" will refuse to let an infant of a good estate have
" whatever may be necessary for his subsistence.
" For this he has no great occasion for any letter of
" credit from his guardians; but, if these should
" be such fools, or such unfaithful guardians, as to
" give him an unlimited letter of credit, for borrow-
" ing whatever he himself might think necessary
" for his subsistence, it would certainly tend to
" throw him into extravagance, and make him a
" prey for usurers and extortioners."

1735.

It may be presumed, that the opposition would have been less strenuous, in obstructing the views of government, could they have been convinced, that these views were really for the good of the nation. This they pretended to doubt; and lord Chesterfield, as well as his friends, went so far as to affirm, that the vessel of Great Britain was steered by the Hanoverian rudder [10]. The ground of their apprehensions will, in some measure, appear from the following account of the state of Europe at that time.

The stipulations of the last treaty of Vienna seemed to imply an obligation to assist the house of Austria, whenever its possessions, already much lessened, should be further invaded. The Dutch, indeed, being more exposed to, and perhaps more
diffident

1735.

diffident of, their neighbours, had laid many restrictions on their accession to the treaty. The French, whose designs against their natural and ancient rivals upon the continent this treaty was intended to check, soon found an opportunity of putting the real dispositions of the contracting parties to the test. On the death of Augustus I. king of Poland, his most christian majesty immediately resolved to secure that crown to his father-in-law, the unhappy competitor of the deceased monarch. The emperor, on his part, apprehending that, if Stanislaus should succeed, he should always find a dangerous neighbour in him, could not consent to his re-election. The dispute, as is usual between crowned heads, ended in an open rupture. But this war, carried on with unequal spirit and forces, was also attended with very different success. Lewis XV. the young monarch of a warlike and united nation, was prepared, and certain, as he was said to be, of the good wishes of Hanover, and of the connivance at least of the British ministry [11], formed an offensive alliance with the kings of Sardinia and Spain, in order to attack his enemy in several parts at once. The declining head of the empire, Charles VI. on the contrary, found, in the unwilling guarantees of his possessions, importunate monitors and irresolute friends. In vain did he solicit his natural allies to support him in so disadvantageous a contest, and to maintain what was called the balance of Europe. In vain, to avoid appearing the aggressor, did he abstain from the first hostilities, and leave it to Russia to oppose Stanislaus, and to settle the elector of Saxony upon the Polish throne: these precautions did not disarm his enemies, nor procure him the assistance of his friends. The Dutch, under perpetual apprehensions for their barrier, which the imperial court could not, and the British ministry would not, provide with sufficient troops

1735.

troops [12], willingly embraced a neutrality; a state which is always preferred by that wise republic, and was particularly their choice at that time, from the fear of being obliged to create a new stadtholder. This neutrality was either the cause or the pretence why the British ministry only interfered by vague proposals and offers of mediation, which were slighted [13]. The minister, in the mean while, did not neglect to provide for the security of the kingdom. Every year he applied for fresh parliamentary supplies; he fitted out squadrons; and took six thousand Danes into British pay, for the same useful purposes, which, some years before, had occasioned the hiring of twelve thousand Hessians. He carried this precaution still further, and, to prevent an invasion from powers whose interest it was by no means to attempt one, he every year increased the number of national troops.

1736.

Such exertions of strength, equally vain and wasteful, were not assented to without great opposition in both houses. Lord Chesterfield, convinced that these successive augmentations could have but one use, attacked them, not only with the power of eloquence, but with the shafts of ridicule. With a satyrical vein of pleasantry, almost peculiar to himself, he exposed in a periodical paper [14] the harmless disposition both of the ministers and the troops. The scheme of a wax army, moving by clock-work, and answering all the uses of a real one, was worthy of Swift's pen; and, if I am not misinformed, the dean saw, approved, and wished to have been the writer of it.

During the course of this political struggle, lord Chesterfield had the misfortune of losing his brother Charles Stanhope. Though the youngest, he was not the least beloved; and, indeed, by the accounts
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I received from the countess of Chesterfield, his character must have been most amiable. By his death a considerable estate devolved to Mr. John Stanhope, whose sole dependence hitherto had been upon the earl.

1736.

After a long negociation, a treaty was at length concluded between the contending powers. The house of Bourbon was a great gainer by the war; and that of Austria an equal loser by the peace. Lorrain, a considerable province, capable of maintaining an army of thirty thousand men, hitherto governed by its own sovereigns, though, from its vicinity, most commonly under the influence or in the power of France, was now, for ever, annexed to that crown. King Stanislaus obtained the enjoyment of it, during his life, as an equivalent for Poland; and the former duke of Lorrain, in virtue of this cession, procured the reversion of Tuscany after the death of the old duke, the last of the Medicis family, together with the hand of the eldest archduchess. The king of Spain's eldest son made a most advantageous exchange of two dutchies for two kingdoms, Parma and Placentia for Naples and Sicily; the king of Sardinia somewhat extended his territories; and, as a compensation for so many sacrifices, the emperor obtained from his rivals the long-wished-for guarantee of the pragmatic sanction.

It would take much time, and afford little entertainment, to specify and explain the several subjects of debate between the ministers and their antagonists in the course of this and the preceding year. Some were temporary or local; others, the result of former, or the foundation of future, deliberations; and all, though at the time magnified by party, are now become too inconsiderable to be mentioned anywhere but in general history, where the foibles and
incon-

1736. inconsistencies of mankind are faithfully and minutely recorded. Strong things were, as usual, said by the minority [15]; and, as usual, the majority endeavoured to assist the designs of the minister.

1737. Very different sentiments were entertained by the heads of the opposition. As their object was to embarrass the ministry, and to inflame the people, the questions which were started were such as, if decided to their wish, must lessen the influence of the court, and, if rejected, must increase the popular clamor. This was plainly the case in the proceedings occasioned by a tumult that was excited about this time in Edinburgh. Mr. Porteus, a captain of the city-guard, had been tried and condemned to death, for having too hastily ordered his men to fire, and having fired himself, upon a mob that attempted to rescue a smuggler from the gallows. As there appeared, on the captain's trial, several circumstances in his favor, a reprieve was obtained for him upon the representation of the judges. But the people were not satisfied; and, at the instigation, or at least with the connivance of some designing men, they assembled in a seditious manner. They forced the gates of the jail, dragged out the unfortunate prisoner, and hanged him in the same place where the smuggler had suffered. This was not a mere riot; it bore the marks of design and deliberation; and, though some of the facts might have been exaggerated, a mutinous disposition could not be disowned. The same spirit had of late shewn itself in several parts of the kingdom; and a daring, though puerile, insult upon government had been committed in Westminster-hall [16]. It became, therefore, necessary to punish as well as to check these violent attempts against the peace of society. The case of the Edinburgh riot was brought into
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parliament; the debates lasted five months, and lord Chesterfield was concerned in some of them. By one of the parties, this act of violence was represented as the natural consequence of national discontent; by the other, as the effect of wicked combinations. These ascribed the cause to the measures of government; those to the incendiary writings of a disappointed faction. Despotism on one side, and jacobitism on the other, were introduced in this dispute, with as much reason as they are in every other political controversy. The ministry were driven to the disagreeable alternative, either of giving up the assistance of military force, which sedition made more and more necessary, or of disobliging a part of the nation, already too much suspected of disaffection. Some of the Scotch members, hitherto the best friends to the reigning powers, expressed their indignation on seeing the judges compelled to appear at the bar of the house of lords, the magistrates of their capital stigmatized, and the city deprived of some of its privileges. The manly sense and humane disposition of lord Hardwicke prevented a too violent stretch of power. That great magistrate, (who, though constantly attached to the court, and most commonly engaged in parliamentary altercations with lord Chesterfield, was according to his lordship's judgment, not only an agreeable and eloquent speaker, but a most clear and instructive reasoner) maintained on this occasion, as well as on many others, the just prerogative of the crown, without extending it to the oppression of the people. A due regard was paid to the articles of the Union, and the heaviest parts of the sentence were mitigated in the house of commons. But yet this unfortunate affair is thought to have left or increased, among several of the inhabitants, a spirit of disaffection, which broke out, a few years after, at the time of the rebellion.

Thus

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Thus did the persons who governed grow weaker even from their victories, and, while all-powerful at court and in parliament, find themselves every where else distressed and literally out-witted. The times were no more, when a Dryden or a Swift, in support of ministers and courts, alone faced legions, and fought them with advantage. The superiority of writing, as well as of speaking, was universally judged to be on the side of the opposition. Promises and rewards, it was said, might procure votes, but could neither create or purchase eloquence and genius [17]. From the epic poem [18] to the ballad [19], and from the elaborate dissertation [20] to the periodical sheet [21], every engine of argument or wit was levelled against the present administration. This had, and always will have, its effect; a few instances of severity against some of the most unguarded offenders [22], could not restrain the greater number; and the popular writers in general succeeded in raising the indignation of the people, and even their laughter, which was still of more consequence.

The stage itself began to be made use of, as it was in the time of the Athenian commonwealth, to serve the purposes of faction, and spread personal satire; and, as one abuse generally paves the way for another, virtue and decency were no more respected than government. To check this growing evil, and put a stop to the impiety and licentiousness which some of the dramatic writers had been guilty of, a bill was brought in, and with great expedition passed, towards the end of the session, in both houses. By this bill, the new pieces were submitted to the examination of the lord chamberlain for the time being, and could not be exhibited upon the stage without his licence. Though this act, which

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which certainly was no innovation, might be a proper one, yet it seemed ill-timed, precipitate, and liable to many inconveniencies. The persons in opposition did not fail to represent it as an incroachment upon the natural rights of a free people, and a step towards attacking the liberty of the press. They exclaimed, that honest ministers had nothing to fear from the strokes of satire; that bad ones ought not to be screened from the only punishment that could reach them; and that the laws of the country were sufficient to guard against excesses [23]. Lord Chesterfield took up the cause of liberty with his usual vivacity, and, without preparation, support, or contradiction, he stood forth as the advocate of letters and of wit. His speech was received with universal applause; and, though printed incorrectly, and without the assistance of his own finishing hand, it has stood the test of time, and will, probably, be handed down to posterity, as one of the finest specimens of British eloquence [24]. Though this speech did not hinder the bill from passing into a law, it has contributed to prevent the abuse that might have been made of it, in restraining the powers of genius, and serving the purposes of ministerial pique or personal dislike.

The ministry were now surrounded with enemies, not only without, but even within the palace. The principal of these was the heir to the crown. Long displeased with his father's counsellors, and dissatisfied on account of the little share he was allowed to have in the conduct and even knowledge of public affairs, the prince of Wales took no pains to conceal his disgust. He might, perhaps, have stifled his resentment, had not the person who presided at the helm forced him to become his dependent or his enemy.

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enemy. His connections were represented as inconsistent with his duty to the king; his favorites were ill-treated, and he was desired not to see those who had made themselves obnoxious to the court. Self-interest concurred with ambition to widen the breach. Generosity, in settling the prince's income, might have brought on an accommodation; parsimony precluded every hope of this kind. The king would not allow his son, who was now married, and might expect a family, the same revenue he himself had enjoyed in a similar situation; and the offer of one-half, or fifty thousand pounds, was rejected with spirit by the prince, who had recourse to a dangerous, and by the event, an ineffectual expedient.

He applied to the heads of the opposition, and a motion was made by them in both houses, that his majesty might be desired to settle on his son annually the sum of one hundred thousand pounds out of the civil list. They were foiled in the attempt, and, indeed, could not expect to succeed. But their chief design was answered; an open rupture was now declared between the prime minister and the prince. The former could not but feel the influence of so powerful an enemy; and the opposition secured to themselves, together with the patronage of the immediate successor, an increasing interest with the people. The strong protest, which was entered in the house of lords on this occasion, was signed, if not penned, by lord Chesterfield.

It might have been prudent in the ministry to have been contented with this temporary success. The prince's resentment was sufficiently raised; but the exertion of it was, for the present, rendered difficult and precarious. A court, deprived of the means of rewarding its attendants, can attach only those

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those who are in expectation of a change, and futurity seldom makes considerable impressions upon courtiers. Great restraints were laid upon the prince in his father's palace, and he could not avoid being watched or even thwarted in his actions. But this was not thought sufficient. Fear, or the spirit of revenge, induced the minister to carry his point still further. He imagined that, by greater severity, he should either force his royal antagonist to submission, or render him inconsiderable in the eyes of his attendants. The king was made to resent a trifling neglect of his son; no regard was shewn to his excuses and intreaties; peremptory orders were sent him to part with all his friends, or quit his father's house; and he was even refused the satisfaction of seeing his mother on her death-bed.

Queen Caroline died at the end of this year, of a cruel disorder, which, being too long concealed, terminated in a painful and fatal operation. She bore the one and the other with fortitude and resignation, and was sincerely regretted by the king. As our earl had, for many years, been no greater favorite with her than his patron lord Townshend, he cannot be expected to have been much affected by her loss, or partial to her memory. Notwithstanding this, he allowed her personal graces, accomplishments of the mind, address, resolution, and perseverance. She possessed more learning than commonly falls to the share of her sex, and was every day endeavouring to increase it. Men of science were encouraged by her [25]; she enjoyed their conversation, and wished to have a place among them. Philosophy and politics were her constant study, and she took a pride in shewing her superiority in both. Her sway over the king was founded on the opinion he had of her merit, and she

1737. she improved her power by her compliance with his wishes. The art by which she governed was known to every body but himself. Upon the whole, she had more admirers than friends, and exchanged the character of an amiable queen for that of a great one.

The opposition had now acquired, what they wanted before, a head equally able and willing to give them weight and support. They furnished him with the means, and he lost no opportunities of improving his talents and increasing his popularity. Less partial to his native soil than his father and grandfather had been, he professed a generous love for liberty [26], and a just reverence for the British constitution. His heart was as open to the sentiments of benevolence, as his mind to the impressions of truth. Those, who appeared animated with the same sentiments, merited his approbation, and shared his favor. He particularly declared himself the patron of men of genius and of wit. Letters and arts, banished from court, found a refuge under his roof; and poets, thus encouraged, proclaimed a new Augustus. Lyttelton was his philosopher and friend [27], Glover became his Virgil, and Pope would have been his Horace. Thomson and Mallet expressed the hopes of the nation, and their own, in the masque of Alfred, composed by his order, and acted in his house. The tragedy of Mustapha, and that of Gustavus Vasa, were intended to interest the people in his favor; but were both prohibited by the licenser, under the sanction of the last act of parliament.

As none of the enemies of the ministry had contributed more than lord Bolingbroke to destroy their popularity, the prince of Wales became desirous of a more particular connection with him. He professed the greatest regard for his lordship, and gave him

him room to hope, that he would one day fulfil his grandfather's intentions towards him [28]. In return for these expressions of confidence and friendship, his lordship wrote, for the use of the presumptive heir to the crown, his Idea of a Patriot King, an idea which a succeeding reign was happily reserved to realize.

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Lord Chesterfield had long before enjoyed a considerable share in the prince's esteem and favor; and it is probable, that he was one of the persons whom his royal highness had been desired to give up. If I am not misinformed, the earl's principal view in this connection was to promote his favorite scheme; though it might not, in every respect, have been equally well received, nor indeed equally adviseable and convenient. He wished to see the electorate and the kingdom separated from each other, and allotted to different branches of the royal family; and endeavoured to convince the successor of the incompatibility of the two titles. Experience induced him to believe, that the prejudices of youth in favor of the native soil were unconquerable; and he conceived, that, whenever a war broke out, Hanover would be attacked, and Great Britain become the (*vache a lait*), milch cow, or money-giving province. He considered the want of a provision to obviate this inconvenience as a defect in the act of settlement; and declared, that such a scheme would not only tend to the preservation and advantage of both countries, but would confirm and secure the royal family upon this throne, by the gratitude and affection of their people. He humorously added, that by that separation the maxim *divide et impera* would be literally accomplished [29]. Could it escape his lordship's piercing eye, that time alone might possibly effect a change, and naturally turn the scale on the other side?

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As the next parliamentary campaign was likely to be an active one, a place of meeting was appointed by the anti-ministerial party, for mustering their forces, and settling their plan of operations.

Bath was the spot fixed upon for that purpose; and a more convenient one could not have been chosen. This elegant town much resembles the Bajæ of the luxurious Romans. Like that, it is distinguished by its waters, its magnificence, and its pleasures. It is there that, twice a year, health, diversions, politics, and play, attract what is called the best company. To this place the prince carried his princess, soon after the birth of her first child. An event so interesting to the nation afforded a favorable opportunity of assembling his friends, and concealing business under the appearances of festivity and joy. The royal and much-beloved pair received the homage of the numerous concourse of people of every rank, who flocked thither to make use of a liberty they were restrained from in the capital [30]. Sumptuous entertainments were given by the corporation, under the direction of the famous Nash. Lord Chesterfield did the honors of the place, and his servants were employed to attend.

Having had occasion to mention the name of Nash, a circumstance occurs to me, which, I hope, I may be allowed to insert here, as it furnishes a fresh instance of lord Chesterfield's judgment, and of the keenness of his wit. It is well known, that this vain, though useful, superintendent of public pleasures first introduced order and elegance in places of entertainment; and, on account of the authority he was indulged to assume, was stiled the king of Bath. In consideration of his services, the corporation resolved to give him a public and durable mark of their gratitude and regard. A full-length picture of
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the mock monarch was made at their expence, and placed in the pump-room, between the busts of Newton and Pope. The want of judgment that directed, and the vanity that accepted such a monument, were severely lashed in the following lines, written by the earl.

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Immortal Newton never spoke
More truth than here you'll find;
Nor Pope himself e'er penn'd a joke
Severer on mankind.

This picture, plac'd the busts between,
Gives satyre all its strength;
Wisdom and wit are little seen,
While folly glares at length.

More important subjects had for some time engaged the attention of the public. The nation had enjoyed peace about five and twenty years; for it can scarce be said, that peace was interrupted by the half wars of 1718 and 1727. A state of tranquillity so desirable, especially for a commercial people, had been the constant object of Walpole's administration. The improvement of manufactures, as well as the increase of trade and wealth, which mark this period, will incline posterity to be more equitable than their predecessors, in judging of a man, whose most unpardonable fault was to have kept his rivals out of his place so long. They imputed to pusillanimity and selfishness his pacific dispositions; they exposed the partial and contracted views with which the negotiations abroad had been conducted; and they exclaimed, that the large sums raised for the sake of preventive and defensive measures were not applied to the best uses, the

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1738. discharge of the national debts, and the preservation of the national rights.

The catholic king, or rather his queen, had, for a long time, shewed a disregard for the nation which, of all others, it is the chief interest, and in general the inclination, of the Spaniards to keep well with [31]. It cannot be denied, but that some provocations had been given by English traders as well as by those of other nations. But the means employed by the Spanish ministry to procure redress were not such as justice could authorize, or British honor overlook. Jealousy, resentment, and, perhaps, bigotry, seem to have had a great share in several instances of violence and animosity which were then exercised. For above twenty years, the Spanish *guarda costas* in America had been impowered to stop the English traders in the open seas, or at least within sight of their coasts, to search and seize both cargoes and ships; to imprison the crews, and often to treat them in a barbarous manner. Vain and ineffectual had been the representations of our court, and such will representations ever be, when unsupported by those means which a great maritime power can never want to defend its rights. The Spaniards, unrestrained in their hostile proceedings, had, on many occasions, added contumely to offence. Their depredations were become excessive, and their captures were valued at half a million. Encouraged by the supineness of the British ministry, and instigated by the active industry of the French, they publicly laid claim to Georgia and part of Carolina, and interrupted not only the general commerce, but also that particular branch stipulated by the treaty of Utrecht,

Utretcht, and known by the name of the *Assiento contract* [32].

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At last, the nation was roused by these repeated insults. The clamors of the merchants were heard throughout the kingdom. The voice of humanity, in favor of the sailors, was too loud to be stifled. Applications to parliament were made from the metropolis and other trading cities; and neither peers nor commons could any longer refuse their interposition. In consequence, the two houses presented addresses to the king, expressing the wishes of the nation, and their own sense of the justice of the complaint. The answer was favorable. His majesty was pleased to promise, that, either by negotiation or by arms, an adequate satisfaction should be procured for the damages sustained, and a security obtained for the freedom of navigation.

And yet the minister, unable to resolve for war, hoped to prevent a rupture between the two crowns, by the parade of his armaments, and the address of his negociators. He did not wish to meet parliament, without having an honorable accommodation to produce, and found it the more difficult to bring the Spaniards to reasonable terms, as they were apprized of the necessity he was under to accept of any [33]. At last, after many procrastinations, which obliged the minister to prorogue and delay the meeting of parliament, he procured in the beginning of 1739, a temporary treaty under the title of convention. The pompous manner in which this convention was announced, was rather a disadvantage to it; for, upon examining the articles, they were found by no means answerable to the expectations of the people and the promises of the court. This was proved by the popular lords;

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1739. and, in particular, by the earl of Chesterfield, who spoke against this warlike peace, as he called it, with great force of argument, as well as eloquence and wit [34]. He probably was animated by the presence of the prince of Wales, who assisted at the debate, and thought proper, in an affair which so nearly affected the glory of the nation, to vote, for the first time, and to divide with the opposition. The arguments made use of on their sides were so forcible, as to persuade several of the peers, attached to the court, to dissent from it on this occasion. Lord Scarborough, who never resisted conviction, on whatever side he found it, thought himself obliged to join the opposers, and the ministry carried their point in favor of the convention by a much smaller majority than they had procured on any other question [35]. A protest couched in very strong terms, and bearing the stamp of lord Chesterfield's manner of writing, was entered and signed by about forty peers.

The ferment occasioned by the ill-success of the preceding debate rendered the minority still more inclined to shew their disapprobation of the court measures. It was on that account particularly, that the very moderate settlement of thirty-nine thousand pounds *per annum*, for the king's younger children, proposed to be charged upon the hereditary revenues of the crown, met with any opposition. Our earl, who made a short, though severe, speech on this occasion, did not scruple to hint, that while certain branches of the royal family were provided for, at a time when the utmost oeconomy was so necessary, other branches still nearer the throne (*viz.* the offspring of the successor) remained not only unprovided but even still unprayed for.

A subsequent

1739.

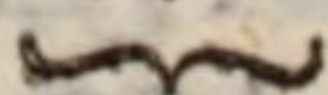
A subsequent debate on a vote of credit to be granted to the king, gave our earl a fresh opportunity of displaying his wit at the expence of the ministers. “ They seemed,” he said, “ to have been “ playing for almost these twenty years, at a sort “ of game of hazard for peace or war; and at last, “ by a lucky nick, out started a thing they call a “ *convention*, which is neither the one nor the other; “ but is to be made either the one or the other, they “ cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them “ some extraordinary and unusual powers, for enabling them to continue their game. What their “ future success may be, I shall not pretend to divine; but I am sure, I shall never be for giving “ unlimited credit to such awkward gamesters.”

Such as it was, however, it soon appeared, that this convention was not thought binding by the court of Madrid. They failed in the payment of the sum, which had been accepted by way of indemnification, and the meetings of the plenipotentiaries appointed to settle the articles in dispute were ineffectual. From an error, which too often has prevailed upon the continent, it was imagined, that the reluctance which the minister had shewn to pursue vigorous measures, proceeded from his diffidence of being supported by the nation; and it was also imagined, that his enemies would continue to obstruct his operations; and that the same irresolution, which had too long disgraced the British cabinet, would equally take place at sea or in the field. War was at length proclaimed on the 23d of October, with universal applause, and the nation rejoiced in an opportunity of undeceiving their enemies, and of recalling the glorious days of Elizabeth and Cromwell.

These expectations seemed for a time to have reconciled the opposite parties; and if their former contentions had not been alluded to, in the king's speech,

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speech, at the opening of the next session, and in the addresses of the two houses, it is not improbable, but that the minister, by complying, though late, with the wishes of the nation, might have recovered in a considerable degree their confidence and approbation. This the earl of Chesterfield openly avowed. He said that his majesty's declaration of war had effectually healed up all the former divisions, that he not only approved of the war, but of the declaration itself, as being expressed in the most proper, the most just, and the strongest terms, that could be devised, and that if the measures now at last entered upon were pursued with equal vigor, an end, he hoped, a final end would be put to all heats and animosities. He therefore wished that all mention were dropped of past jealousies, since it now appeared that the division had been not between one party and another, but between the whole nation and the ministry. But, though he was supported in these sentiments by the earl of Scarborough, as well as by the dukes of Argyll and Bedford, he could not succeed in his endeavours, and this disappointment proved a fatal omen of what was to happen during the remainder of the session.

Lord Scarborough's conduct, in this as well as in all other debates, cannot but inspire us with the most exalted ideas of his candor, delicacy, and moderation. Strongly attached by principle to government, and by inclination to the king, he supported the ministry a long time against the efforts of those he was most intimately connected with, and lived for many years upon the best terms both with Sir Robert Walpole and with lord Chesterfield [36]. Forced at last by conviction to deviate from his former course, and to express his disapprobation of the late public measures, he did it with a becoming frankness and generosity,

merosity, wishing earnestly to reconcile both parties at this interesting period, and to unite them against the common enemies of their country. This attempt, however, was ill received: heads of parties seldom allow a latitude of thinking, and in affairs of state, still more than in matters of religion, intolerance is by every side disavowed, but too constantly practised by all. 1740.

Unfortunately a nobleman equally beloved by the nation and by his friends could not long resist the struggle between his former engagements and his present feelings. A turn to melancholy, which shewed itself in his countenance, joined to an ill state of health [37], hurried him to an act of violence upon himself. The morning of the day on which he accomplished this resolution, he paid a long visit to lord Chesterfield, and opened himself to him with great earnestness on many subjects. As he appeared somewhat discomposed, his friend pressed him in vain to stay and dine with him; which he refused, but most tenderly embraced him at parting. It happened in the course of the conversation that something was spoken of which related to Sir William Temple's negociations, when the two friends not agreeing about the circumstances, lord Chesterfield, whose memory was at all times remarkably good, referred lord Scarborough to the page of Sir William's memoirs where the matter was mentioned. After his lordship's death [38], the book was found open at that very page. Thus he seems, in his last moments, to have been still attentive to his friend, and desirous that he should know he was so. This fatal catastrophe was universally lamented, tenderly censured, and entirely excused by those who considered the unaccountable effects of natural evils upon the human mind. But what must lord Chesterfield's situation have been upon his
being

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being informed of this unfortunate event? His excellent lady does not even now without the greatest emotion speak of the manner in which his lordship, on her return home at night, acquainted her with his loss of that amiable nobleman; and he ever after lamented that he did not detain him at his house, saying he might perhaps have been saved, if he had not been left to himself that day [39].

His grief, however, did not prevent him from continuing with the same assiduity and vigor, to support the measures of opposition. It appears rather that his zeal, no longer tempered by the steady example and mild influence of his friend, but on the contrary inflamed by his untimely end, exerted itself with greater energy on every occasion. This appeared in the debates concerning a message for an extraordinary supply, sent to the house of commons in preference to that of the peers. The question does not seem to have been of sufficient importance to have excited his lordship's warmth against the author of this message. But nothing from the minister could now please him, and he seemed to have adopted, in regard to Sir Robert, the sentiment expressed in the following lines of an ancient poet, of which he sent a comment in one of his letters to his son;

Non amo te, Sabidi, nec possum dicere quare;

Hoc tantum possum dicere, non amo te [40].

Yet, notwithstanding the dryness of the subject, our earl enlivened it with several strokes of pleasantry and humour [41], and the compliment he paid to the young earl of Halifax, who made the motion, was equally just and delicate.

He had a much fairer opportunity of displaying his eloquence and resentment, when a bill against pensioners, which had passed in the house of commons,

was

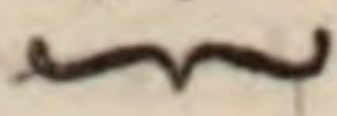
was brought before the lords, who, as it was expected even by the opposite party [42], rejected it. In expressing his detestation of corruption, he cast several sarcastical reflections against the man whom at all times he considered as the grand promoter of it. He invariably represented him on that account as still more dangerous to the morals than the liberties of his country.

Had the earl been capable of listening to ministerial whispers, it was often in his power, particularly at this time, to have made whatever terms he pleased. I am well informed that the post of lord lieutenant of Ireland was from his early life the object of his ambition; and that he might have been appointed to it during the present administration will appear from the anecdote I shall here refer to [43].

National concerns did not however so entirely engross his thoughts, but he found leisure for other pursuits. Paternal solicitude warmed his heart as much as patriotic zeal. Having laid down to himself the plan of a rational education, he followed it through all its branches, and did not shew his talents in a more conspicuous light, when he supported the rights of a kingdom, than when he condescended to be the instructor of a child. Chesterfield writing by choice exercises for the use of his son, infinitely surpasses Dionysius driven by necessity to teach grammar at Corinth.

The brilliancy of his talents was equally evident in the facility and variety of his compositions. From the most intricate political researches, he could in an instant relax to the tone of polite conversation; and I have been told, that oftentimes in a mixt company, after having distinguished himself by superior wit and pleasantry, he has taken up the pen and set down

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down the heads of a new speech. Several of his pieces of poetry would have done honor to those distinguished writers he was so familiar with, though they were composed, as well as many of his moral and political essays, during the period of the opposition.

This wonderful ease and extent of genius was justly extolled by his contemporaries. It was particularly so in an ode inscribed to his lordship, which will be seen in the note [44].

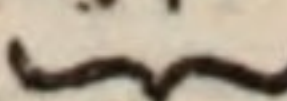
As the war the nation was now engaged in had been foreseen for a long time, it was universally hoped that it would be carried on with such vigor as to put a speedy period to it. But either from an imperfection in the plans, or from error in the execution, the event by no means answered the expectations, or at least the wishes of the public. Powerful fleets were fitted out, several millions spent, and some damage done to the enemy; but engagements with their armadas were avoided, their flotillas remained unmolested, their possessions were respected, and the losses of trade were very nearly equal on both sides. It seemed, as lord Chesterfield expressed it, that some malign planet hung over British counsels, and retarded or disappointed every vigorous resolution. The success and miscarriage of Vernon were equal proofs of the temerity and deficiency of our projects; and Haddock's unaccountable inaction induced the witty earl to say that the words *flagrante bello* ought to be changed into *languente bello*.

The sudden death of the head of the empire towards the end of this year, greatly changed the state of affairs in Europe and the system of the court of London. It would be difficult to give a clearer account of the immediate consequences of this unfortunate event, of the efforts that might and ought to have

have been exerted on this occasion, and of the mistakes and weak attempts of the administration, than the following words present to us [45]. “The emperor left nothing but the pragmatic sanction for the security of his heirs, which proved of so little signification notwithstanding the great names with which it was filled, that almost every one of the electors, like most other electors, thought it a proper opportunity of making the most of his vote, and all at the expence of the helpless and abandoned house of Austria.---But in the midst of these royal dreams of dominion, havock, spoil, and plunder, the king of Prussia starts first into action, pleads a right, but takes possession by force, and avows a resolution to hold it by the same means.---The deplorable situation of the emperor’s family affected every English heart.---The pretensions of the Prussian monarch were limited to certain dutchies and lordships in Silesia; and as the event proved that he would have been satisfied with much less than he claimed, it cannot be enough wondered at, that ways and means had not been used to bring him to terms by treaty and negotiation.---But instead of experiments to soften him, which might gain so potent an ally to assist in the preservation of the house of Austria, and obtain an increase of power to the protestant interest, the spirit of war alone prevailed against him. So little was any thought or desire entertained of gaining him in a friendly manner, and so little was apprehended from France at that time, that certain persons, for a while, enjoyed a scheme for the partition of his dominions, and a convention was actually formed for that purpose.”

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In this situation were public affairs, when a motion was made in both houses for addressing the king to remove from his councils the minister to whom the national distresses and difficulties were imputed. Lord Chesterfield was not one of the speakers in the debate which arose on this violent motion; but he divided with the fifty-eight peers who were the minority, and joined with the thirty protesters.

His health of late had been greatly impaired, and in order to retrieve it, he was advised to leave his native country for a time, and to seek in some foreign land a seasonable relief. He accordingly crossed the sea soon after the dissolution of parliament. He passed through Lisle, and had the pleasure of finding at Brussels his friend Voltaire, with whom he spent a few days, and who read to him several passages of his new tragedy of Mahomet. Hence he directed his course to Spa, the waters of which had been recommended and proved very beneficial to him. He staid about six weeks in that general rendezvous of the best and worst company of Europe, where the busy and the idle resort alike for dissipation. As he was himself eminently qualified to be a citizen of the world, he was courted and agreeably entertained by persons of different nations, distinguished by their rank and their merit. Among these was a Prussian envoy at one of the German courts. With him lord Chesterfield often conversed about his sovereign, who then began to excite universal admiration. The earl, who wished to see that prince the friend rather than the enemy of Great Britain, expressed in lively terms his opinion of him, and called him *l'homme de Prusse* (the man of Prussia). This was reported to the king, to whom lord Chesterfield's character was not unknown,

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unknown, and who perhaps thought him *l'homme d'Angleterre* (the man of England). To be praised by such a judge was highly pleasing to the monarch, and he sent him a pressing invitation to come over and see him at Berlin. If the earl had not been engaged in the ministry in 1745, he intended to have undertaken that journey; and it is to be regretted that a meeting, which might have been beneficial to the interests of mankind, could not take place. The king ever after spoke with great regard of lord Chesterfield, and often said he thought him the best friend he had in England. The earl on his side seemed rather an enthusiast in his praises, not only in public conversation, but in his private letters to his son, to whom he certainly always disclosed his most secret thoughts [46].

Of all the cities in the world, Paris seemed to be that which lord Chesterfield would have chosen for his residence, if he had not been born an Englishman, and strongly attached to the constitution of his own country. He could not but dislike the form of government and political principles of the French, though in other respects he found their character the most congenial with his own. His former connections in their capital, together with those which lord Bolingbroke procured him, must have rendered that place peculiarly suited to his taste. Pressed however as he was for time, and hurried on by the ill state of his health, he could not stay there above a fortnight in going, nor much longer at his return. During these short intervals, he was a most acceptable guest in the best societies, and a partaker of their pleasures. The hotels of Coigny, Matignon, Noailles, were open to him, as well as the houses of Mad^e de Tencin [47], de Monconseil, Martel, ladies equally distinguished

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distinguished by their rank, their merit, and their wit. He frequently saw some of the principal *literati* of that country, such as Sallier, Crebillon, Fontenelle, but chiefly his old friend Montesquieu. He often remembered, when some years afterwards he was deprived of the sense of hearing, what that celebrated man, whose sight was much decayed, told him, *je fais etre aveugle* (I know how to be blind); and endeavoured, though not with the same success, to be able to say, *je fais etre sourd* (I know how to be deaf.)

As his lordship's health had been judged to require the assistance of a warmer climate, he used what expedition he could to reach the South of France. In his way he visited Lyons, Avignon, Aix, Nîmes, Marseilles, and Montpellier. It is with pleasure that we trace him, during the course of this journey, writing regularly to his son, then only ten years old, and giving him accounts of the most curious particulars relative to the towns he passed through, partly extracted from other travellers, and partly from his own masterly observations. He added to these some compendious geographical lectures, and began a sketch of English history, which it were to be wished he had afterwards thought proper to revise and complete.

Public affairs recalled lord Chesterfield to England sooner than he might have desired, and prevented him from enjoying, during the ensuing winter, the pure air and mild temperature of some of the finest provinces of Europe. The great events that had taken place in the summer, required the presence of all those who wished well to their country, and were able to contribute to its welfare.

The house of Bourbon, which, for about a century past, had invariably pursued the project of lowering
the

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the house of Austria, now seized the opportunity of completing its destruction. The electors of Saxony and Bavaria, and, soon after, the king of Spain, formed pretensions to the emperor's succession. The king of the Two Sicilies joined his power to theirs. Exasperated by the neglect with which his demands had been treated, and by the vain schemes of his rivals, the king of Prussia had acquired, by conquest, a greater extent of territory than his claims originally amounted to in Silesia, and was encouraged by the French, who, notwithstanding their known spirit of gallantry, made war against the most accomplished, as well as the most beautiful princess in Europe. Most of the other German and Italian princes had been the late emperor's secret friends; and those who were best inclined, shewed themselves but cold friends to his daughter. By the influence of her ambitious neighbours, who commanded the votes of four electors, and terrified or silenced the rest, the imperial dignity was wrested from the house of Austria, after having been considerably above four hundred years in that ancient and now almost extinct family. The elector of Bavaria, whose power as a prince could give no umbrage to France, was chosen emperor, and the queen of Hungary deprived of her possessions. Bohemia was already overpowered, the city of Prague taken, Upper Austria over-run, and Vienna menaced with a siege. A corps of French troops, posted on the confines of Hanover, threatened an invasion. The king of Great Britain, who could not be restrained from his annual visit to the capital of his electoral dominions, was obliged to sign a neutrality for one year. It was more than suspected, that this neutrality extended its influence to the operations in the Mediterranean, and that admiral Haddock had orders to permit, at least to overlook, the sailing of a Spanish squadron to the
West

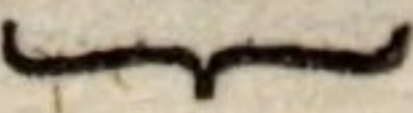
1741.

West Indies, and the conveyance by sea of a Spanish army into Italy. Hungary, which received the fugitive queen with a zeal becoming a nation so faithful, though so often ill-treated, was in danger of being attacked by the Turks. Russia was prevented by a Swedish war and by intestine commotions from assisting her natural ally. The Dutch trembled for their barrier; and it was apprehended that a regard to his security might force even the king of Sardinia into the confederacy.

Thus was the balance of Europe unaccountably disturbed, and to all appearance completely destroyed; a balance, which had cost the nation so many lives to maintain, and involved it in a debt of thirty millions in the times of queen Anne; and which, during the reign of her successor, was thought of so much importance as to furnish a pretence for a multiplicity of tedious negotiations and opposite alliances. A striking instance this, among many others, of the insufficiency of treaties to confine the ambition of princes, and to secure their faith.

Those who were sincerely concerned for the liberties of their country and of mankind, found no circumstance more alarming in this revolution, than the fatal ascendancy gradually acquired, and now openly assumed by the French over the Western world. The natural strength of their empire was much increased by the opinion which they had universally inspired of their irresistible power. The fear of engaging the French king to take part openly with the other branches of the house of Bourbon in the present contest, as well as the intimations that were given of his intentions to take this part, if any considerable blow were struck in the West Indies or elsewhere, intimidated the ministry, and produced an irresolution in the British councils, and inactivity

inactivity in the British arms. The nations which had, at first, beheld with wonder, the Ocean covered with English ships, and, from the little resistance met with at Porto Bello, conceived, that the Spanish dominion in the Indies was held by a single thread [48], now accustomed to the sight of impotent efforts and harmless expeditions, turned their admiration into contempt, and their former readiness to shew their attachment to so respectable an ally into denials and distrust. France being considered as the only power worthy to be regarded, and as the sole mistress of the balance of Europe, made use of her influence to *distribute kingdoms by caprice, and exalt emperors upon her own terms* [49].

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The discontents raised in Great Britain, not only by a series of miscarriages and losses, but by the clamorous representations of disappointment and revenge, did not fail to have considerable influence in the elections for the new parliament. The opinion of the public was fixed at least as to one object, and the efforts of the minister could no longer stem the torrent. There are times when corruption defeats itself, when promises and threats become equally ineffectual, and when gold itself is found to lose its weight.

The session began on the first of December; and on the fourth his majesty's speech was delivered. It was drawn up with great art; and, according to annual custom, re-echoed by complimentary addresses from both houses. This, however, did not pass without some shew of opposition in the house of peers. Lord Chesterfield, who, in his travels through other countries, never lost sight of his own; and while in pursuit of health and amusement did not neglect collecting materials, and preparing himself for business, thought it proper to shew, that his com-

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plaisance and partiality to the French did not extend to their politics. Recovered to his former state of health, and animated by the strong motives of national interest and national honor, he thundered out what may be called his first Philippic against the ministry. He begins with a plain, yet strong, representation of the distressful scene of Europe, and recommends to the lords a general address to the throne after the manner of their ancestors, suitable to the dignity of those from whom it comes, and to the occasion upon which it is made. From the allowed difficulties and dangers attending the present situation, he argues that what was lost could not be regained but by measures different from those which had been pursued, and by the assistance of other counsellors than those who had sunk the nation into contempt, and exposed it to the ravages of all their neighbours. Nothing, in his opinion, could raise more confidence in foreign powers still attached to them, or more intimidate those whose designs it was their interest to defeat, than an open testimony of their resolution, neither any longer to approve that conduct by which the liberty of the half of Europe had been endangered, nor to lavish praises on the men, who, in twenty years, never transacted any thing for the benefit of their country. He then enters into an artful enumeration of past measures, exposes their insignificance, and severely arraigns those of cowardice, if not of something worse, who, notwithstanding all admonitions, constantly pursued them. Why the queen of Hungary, notwithstanding all the motives of justice and compassion that pleaded in her favor, was suffered to be overpowered by the natural enemies of this nation, the rivals of their trade, and the persecutors of their religion, the whole world, he says, has long asked to no purpose. Instead of paying subsidies for troops, never

to

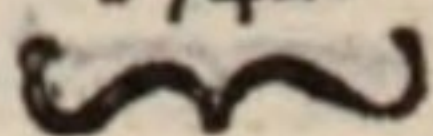
to be employed, and enriching foreign princes with the plunder of a nation, which they cannot injure and do not defend, he laments that the king of Prussia's friendship was not obtained at any rate, and mentions with indignation the late Hanover neutrality. Less sanguine, however, for a land war, the expences of which, he owns, were certain, and the events hazardous, he lays the stress of his argument on the naval armaments. Having described the superiority of English fleets, sea-officers and sailors, and avowed the assertions, however pompous they might appear, that the Britons are placed the centinels at the barriers of nature, and arbiters of the intercourse of mankind, he observes, that this dominion on the Ocean was asserted in former times, in opposition to powers far more able to contest it than those whom his country had so long submissively courted, and were now evidently afraid of. He lastly exhorts them not to despair; but, expecting their safety only from a change of counsels and of measures, not to praise before examining, because inquiry comes too late after approbation. This discourse was justly applauded by the speakers on the other side, as well as on his own; but it did not prevent the usual compliment from being paid to the crown, or rather to the ministry.

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The opposition had no better success in the following debate, and, indeed, vigorous resolutions could hardly prevail in a house where ministers of a pacific turn bore so considerable a proportion. A majority of no more than twelve prevented a censure from being passed on the neglect shewn by the ministry, in permitting fourteen out of the nineteen officers, belonging to the establishment at Minorca, to be absent at a time when that important island was threatened with an invasion. Lord Chesterfield

1742.

1742-



was very active in the examination of the witnesses, the discussion of the points in debate, and the protest that ensued upon the negative put to the motion. As he answered the lord chancellor on this occasion, he was obliged to unite precision with clearness, and to prefer argument to declamation. He allowed, however, some scope to his imagination in appealing to the bench of bishops, whether the interests of religion, as well as reasons of policy, ought not to have produced some attempts towards making the Minorquins good protestants and affectionate subjects. There was likewise something striking in these remarkable, I had almost said prophetic, words, “ I think, I am in duty obliged to
 “ forewarn your lordships, that if ever this island
 “ should be lost by any future neglect, the whole
 “ nation will impute the loss to your having put a
 “ negative at this time upon such a motion ;
 “ for after the loss is incurred, no punishment you
 “ can inflict upon the persons guilty will be an
 “ atonement for your former indifference, which
 “ will be considered as the original cause of that
 “ loss.”

The dispositions of the new house of commons were much sooner discovered than those of the house of peers. The prime minister could no longer command a majority. So high were the popular prejudices against him, that his dependents found it expedient to abandon him, in order to preserve their interest at his expence [50]. Parties, indeed, seemed so equally balanced, that no business of importance could go on ; and the trial of some of the controverted elections shewed where the preponderancy lay. To support his credit, the minister endeavoured in vain to divide the opposition ; they divided, indeed, but not till after his fall. The offers made
 to

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to the prince of Wales were peremptorily refused, as coming from the man whom he accused of being the author of the grievances at home, and of the miscarriages abroad. Thus, no longer able to continue at the helm, and in danger of meeting with greater severity if he persisted in his resistance, he resigned all his places. The king, prepared for this necessary sacrifice, accepted of his resignation; but thought proper to shew his regret of losing him, by bestowing upon him the most satisfactory marks of personal regard and protection [51]. In order to vacate his seat in the lower house, he was raised to the upper, by being made a peer. The new earl of Orford's good humour, good nature, and experienced benevolence, secured him the affection of his relations, friends, and numerous attendants. Time did justice to his character [52]; a veil was drawn over his errors, and even his political competitors seem universally to have allowed him abilities, and at least comparative merit [53].

The fall of the minister was not attended with that total change of men and measures, which the majority of the country party had expected. By this revolution, Mr. Pulteney, who had for a long time been the leader of the opposition in the house of commons, found himself in a situation that rendered him, in some measure, the arbiter between the crown and the people: but this place was too exalted, too much exposed, to be secure. The triumph of a popular tribune seldom continues for any length of time; and he who can do what he will, unless he attempts all, must soon give way to those who are more daring. He thought, that by declining to take the rudder, he might have preserved his authority with the public, and his influence at court. But his moderation was unsuccessful.

Personally

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Personally disliked by the sovereign for what he might have done, and by a great part of the nation for what he did not do, he irrecoverably lost the party he deserted [54], and obtained from the other a title without power [55].

The vacancies occasioned by the removal of the old minister, and of a few of his most immediate dependents, were soon filled by those whigs who, from a dislike of the person, disapprobation of the measures, or eagerness after the places, had before joined the discontented of other denominations. The new administration admitted but few either of the tories, or of the violent republicans, and thus contracting their political ground, they left the distinction of the *broad bottoms* to the succeeding opposition. These, gloried in that comprehensive name, but rejected with scorn that of faction with which they were branded.

The most considerable acquisition made by the court was that of lord Carteret; and, at the present juncture, none could be of greater importance. His great knowledge of the affairs of Europe, enterprising genius, and high principles of government, very pliable to the desires of a master, raised him to the place of prime minister; a place, at this crisis, as little to be envied as it was difficult to be filled. The king, whose language he spoke, and whose views he ennobled, at the same time that he indulged him in his favorite prejudices, soon gave him as great a share of his personal affection as he ever could bestow. The drooping spirits of the nation began to revive. A Richelieu was expected to take place of a Mazarin, and the people rejoiced at the exchange of an over-cautious guide for one, who, animated with the ancient spirit of chivalry, seemed to have been sent from heaven to satisfy their most ardent thirst of glory.

Lord

Lord Chesterfield might have expected to have had some share in the new administration, having been so instrumental in bringing about the late revolution. But whether through jealousy in the chiefs, dislike in the monarch, or unwillingness in the earl to accept of engagements, unless he knew and approved of the terms [55], he was left out of the list; and this neglect may appear a sufficient excuse for his refusing, some years after, to be concerned in the ministry with those who, at this time, shewed themselves so indifferent, if not averse, for admitting him into their association. 1742.

Some thinking persons there were, who seeing the name of Chesterfield omitted in the list of the ministry, and that of Argyll soon struck out of it by himself, began, even at this early period, to find fault with the choice, and mistrust the abilities of the new pilots. Of the many satyrical pieces published at that time, I shall only transcribe part of an ode, which seemed stronger marked, and was better received, than most other poetical productions of the same date [56].

Thus deprived of the assistance of some of the most considerable of the party whom he had been connected with, and was now obliged to oppose, lord Chesterfield found, in a succession of young spirited peers, a seasonable supply of auxiliary forces. These were the duke of Bedford, the earls of Halifax and Sandwich, lords Talbot and Lonsdale, together with a few supporters of the late minister, who now joined the new opposition.

The earl's eloquence was particularly animated in the famous debate on a bill passed in the house of commons, the object of which was to encourage witnesses to give in their evidence against the late minister, by the promise of indemnity to themselves for

1742. for the share they might have had in the corrupt transactions he was suspected of. Lord Carteret, formerly the accuser of Sir Robert, now stood forth the advocate of the earl of Orford. Never did the acuteness, comprehensiveness, and precision, of that eloquent speaker shine more eminently than on this occasion. He was complimented both by those who supported the same side with himself, and by those who opposed it. There was something particularly interesting and elegant in the manner in which lord Chesterfield began his answer, or rather his second Philippic. "I have so long," he said, "honoured
"the abilities, and so often concurred with the opi-
"nion of the noble lord who began the debate, that
"I cannot, without unusual concern, rise up now to
"speak in opposition to him; nor could any other
"motive support me under the apparent disadvan-
"tage of a contest so unequal, but the consciousness
"of upright intentions, and the concurrence of the
"whole nation." This exordium did not prevent him from exerting all his powers in the support of the bill, which he represented as suggested by necessity, authorized by similar instances of former and even present times, free from the imputations of injustice and cruelty. He then entered into a particular discussion of the nature of oral evidence, and endeavoured to remove the suspicions about witnesses being induced by such an encouragement to give a false testimony, without being liable to detection. He was particularly vehement at the end of his speech. As it had been asserted, that no real charge could be alledged to justify an unusual mode of severity, "We are upbraided," he said, "with our own declarations, that the person menti-
"oned in this bill would quickly find accusers, when
"he should be divested of his authority. Behold him
"now,

“ now, say his advocates, reduced from his envied
“ eminence, and placed on a level with his fellow-
“ subjects ! behold him no longer the distributor of
“ employments, or the disburser of the public trea-
“ sures ; see him divested of all security, but that of
“ innocence, and yet no accusations are produced.
“ This, my lords, is a topic so fruitful of panegyric,
“ and so happily adapted to the imagination of a
“ person long used to celebrate the wisdom and in-
“ tegrity of ministers [57], that, were not the present
“ question of too great importance to admit false
“ concessions, I should suffer it to remain without
“ controversy. But this is no time for criminal in-
“ dulgence, and therefore I shall annihilate this
“ short-lived triumph, by observing, that to be out
“ of place is not necessarily to be out of power. A
“ minister may retain his influence, who has resign-
“ ed his employments ; he may still retain the favor
“ of his prince, and possess him with a false opinion
“ that he can only secure his authority by protecting
“ him ; or, what there is an equal reason to suspect,
“ his successor may be afraid of concurring in a law,
“ which may hereafter be revived against himself.”

An objection had been raised against the bill by some of his noble antagonists, which was founded on the regard due to their dignity, and the cautiousness they ought to act with in charging those with crimes who had a seat among them. This objection he turned into an argument to incite the lords to be watchful against the least suspicion that might fall upon them, to eject pollution from their walls, and preserve their power by keeping their reputation pure and untainted. The bill was rejected, not so much perhaps because such an exertion of power could only be justified by the supreme law of necessity, as on account of the obvious consequences that might have attended a too full discovery. The
country

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country party in the house of commons highly resented the negative put by the lords upon their bill, and as vainly attempted to pass a vote of censure on this indisputable prerogative.

Another bill, which had been passed in the same house, met with no better fate in that of peers. Under pretence of securing trade and navigation in time of war, it implied a severe reproof of the preceding administration, and laid a restraint upon the present board of admiralty. The earl of Winchelsea, who presided at that board, exposed the defects of that bill in such a distinct manner, as to oblige his antagonists to admit that it could not be passed without such alterations as would have made it quite a new one. It may be doubted whether lord Chesterfield, who wished the bill not to be rejected, without some attempts to amend it, was altogether sincere in the following expressions, “ Were all
 “ men like the noble lord whom I am now attempt-
 “ ing to answer, vigilant to discover, sagacious to
 “ distinguish, and industrious to prosecute the inte-
 “ rest of the public, I should be far from proposing
 “ that they should be constrained by rule, or re-
 “ quired to follow any guide but their own reason.” Some irony was perhaps likewise mixed with great good humor and truth in the introduction to the reply. “ As the known sincerity of that noble lord
 “ allows no reason for suspecting that he would be-
 “ stow any praise where he did not believe there was
 “ some desert, and as his penetration and acuteness
 “ secure him from being deceived by false appear-
 “ ances of merit, I cannot but applaud myself for
 “ having obtained his esteem, which I hope will not
 “ be forfeited by my future conduct.”

The parliamentary business had been, during this session, so extensive and so important, that lord
 Chesterfield

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Chesterfield was detained in town longer than was consistent with his desire of taking another journey to Spa. For though the waters of that place had greatly relieved him of his disorders, which were vertigos, languors, and other nervous symptoms, he was far from being entirely cured, and found such a return of his complaints during the winter, as made him conclude that his shattered tenement, as he expressed it, would admit of but half repairs, and must have them annually. "In short," says he in a letter to his physician Dr. Cheyne, "after all the attention and observation I am capable of, I can hardly say what does me good and what not. My constitution conforms itself so much to the humor of the times, that it changes almost daily its friends for its enemies, and its enemies for its friends." Being disappointed of crossing the sea, he took his refuge at Bath, where the waters never failed to give him a temporary relief.

As lord Chesterfield was not less zealous for the service of his friends than for that of his country, and was universally considered as the best judge as well as patron of men of letters, he had frequent opportunities of being useful to them; one of which had offered during the course of the last winter. The relict of the great duke of Marlborough, being desirous of submitting to posterity her political conduct, as well as her lord's, applied to our earl for a proper person to receive her informations, and put the memoirs of her life into a proper dress. Mr. Hooke, the celebrated writer of an excellent Roman history, was recommended by him for that purpose. He accordingly waited upon the dutchess, while she was still in bed oppressed by the infirmities of age. But knowing who he was, she immediately got herself lifted up, and continued speaking during six hours.

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hours. She delivered to him, without any notes, her account in the most lively as well as the most connected manner. As she was not tired herself, she would have continued longer the business of this first sitting, had she not perceived that Mr. Hooke was quite exhausted, and wanted refreshment as well as rest. So eager was she for the completion of the work, that she insisted upon Mr. Hooke's not leaving her house till he had finished it. This was done in a short time; and her grace was so well pleased with the performance, that she complimented the author with a present of 5000 *l.* a sum which far exceeded his expectations. As soon as he was free, and permitted to quit the house of his benefactress, he hastened to the earl, to thank him for his favor, and communicated to him his good fortune. The perturbation of mind he was under, occasioned by the strong sense of his obligation, plainly appeared in his stammering out his acknowledgments; and he who had succeeded so well as the interpreter of her grace's sentiments, could scarcely utter his own.

As the majority of the nation were greatly prejudiced in favor of the new ministers, they found no difficulty in obtaining from the two houses whatever they demanded; and they professed to have no other views but to prosecute the war with vigor, in order to procure a speedy and honorable termination of it. A considerable supply in money was voted to the heroine, who so bravely defended her hereditary rights. Sixteen thousand men of the British army were sent over to her assistance in Germany; and the Dutch were induced, though with difficulty, to make a third and considerable augmentation in their forces. A neutrality was obtained of the king of Prussia by negociation, and
of

of the king of the two Sicilies by menaces. The elector of Saxony was detached from the grand alliance. The king of Sardinia was enabled to make a vigorous and successful stand against the united forces of France and Spain in Italy ; and a considerable interest was created in the empire in favor of the family who had so long given it a head.

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The successes of the campaign equalled at first the promises and wishes of those who had planned it. Never perhaps, from one year to another, was there a revolution more rapid and more complete. The queen of Hungary, no longer over-awed by the activity of her near and ambitious neighbour, treated her other enemies as she had been treated by them. She not only cleared her Austrian territories of the new emperor's troops, but retaliated upon him in the severest manner his threatened siege of her capital, by driving him out of his own. Bavaria, for the time, made her amends for the loss of Silesia ; Bohemia was recovered ; and whilst one French army was besieged in Prague, the other which, in expectation of coming to its relief, had been obliged to quit the neighbourhood of Hanover, was forced to struggle against sword and famine, and never could penetrate through the passes of Bohemia. Of seventy-five thousand men, led into Germany under the conduct of the experienced generals Belleisle and Broglio, scarce twenty thousand returned to their native country. The Spanish forces, not being joined by the Neapolitan troops, shared a similar fate ; and the infant of Spain, who, with a corps of Frenchmen attempted a passage through the Alps, was equally unsuccessful. Even the operations at sea, though less brilliant, were calculated

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lated to retrieve the honor of the British flag ; and the blocking up of the French and Spanish fleets in the port of Toulon, seemed to secure to Britain the empire of the sea.

In most wars, opportunities are offered to either of the contending parties to obtain a good peace, which all wise nations must prefer to the most glorious victories. France, baffled in her designs, for want of an earlier and better directed exertion of her power, saw the decisive instant fled, and found herself reduced to the necessity of offering moderate terms to the queen of Hungary. But in proportion to her advances, the queen and her allies raised both their expectations and their demands. Lord Stair, in whom the gallant spirit of the Edwards and the Henrys seemed to revive, formed the most sanguine projects, and offered to his enterprizing nation the flattering prospect of an expedition to Paris. The British king, inflamed with that thirst of glory which inspired his youth, when he fought by the side of the great duke of Marlborough, and learned to conquer under him, had long wished himself, like king William, at the head of a confederate army ; and, in order to form it, sixteen thousand Hanoverians were taken into British pay.

This measure, as expensive to England as it was beneficial to Hanover, was strictly canvassed in the next session of parliament. Lord Chesterfield declared his sentiments immediately on the opening of the session. When the address of thanks, implying compliments to the ministry, was proposed, he openly avowed his reluctance to applaud, before the circumstances of the new measure were disclosed, and their consequences justified by the event. His object indeed, was that of a good citizen, as well as of
of

of a wise statesman. It was the saving of English treasure and English blood. He by no means could approve the wasting of both in visionary schemes and impracticable attempts. He thought the purposes of the war, at least upon the continent, could now be attained, if by wasteful, unfaithful, unprofitable confederacies, their common and too powerful enemies were not provoked, without any chance of being thoroughly subdued. When, in the beginning of the next year, the expediency of taking so many additional forces into pay was considered [58], he disclosed in the strongest manner his political principles, and perhaps his resentment. As it fell to his lot to answer his old friend and new antagonist the earl of Bath, he spared no pains to shew himself not inferior to so distinguished a speaker. It were to be wished, that in the course of this debate, as well as of that which came on the next year upon the same subject, his lordship had not used, in speaking of his sovereign, some expressions which the heat of opposition could scarce excuse. The reasons on which his opposition was founded, were contained in the protest entered on this occasion. The name of lord Chesterfield was at the head of the four and twenty peers who signed it; and, in order to leave no doubt of the share he had in it, he introduced it in a manner which proved at least that he was in earnest. “To
 “ shew, my lords, that I do not oppose the ministry
 “ for the sake of obstructing the public counsels, or
 “ of irritating those whom I despair to defeat, and
 “ that I am not afraid of trusting my conduct to the
 “ impartial examination of posterity, I shall beg
 “ leave to enter, with my protest, the reasons
 “ which have influenced me in this day’s (Feb. 1,
 “ 1743) deliberation, that they may be considered
 “ when this question shall no longer be a point of
 “ interest,

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“ interest, and our present jealousies and animosities
“ are forgotten.”

Ministers engaged in a war, and especially in a continental one, are necessarily obliged to procure continual supplies; and in the imposition of new taxes, a thing in itself always unpopular, and only justified by successful expeditions, are constantly opposed by their enemies, whose interest it is to obstruct their measures, and to eclipse their glory. An instance of this appeared with regard to the money raised by the new bill for retailing spirituous liquors. The pernicious effects of these liquors upon the common people had been very obvious in the increase of mortality in this great metropolis. Physicians as well as divines had joined in their endeavours to check so great an evil. Their remonstrances had been attended to; and in concurrence with their advice an act had been passed in the ninth year of this reign (1736), which prohibited any person from selling spirituous liquors, in smaller quantities than two gallons, without a licence. Fifty pounds were to be paid for this privilege of administering draughts of poison to fellow-subjects; and few people perhaps would have purchased it at that rate. But the act, from the difficulty of its being executed, had failed of its effect. It had been found impossible to detect all the petty dealers by whom it was infringed. Informations had been discouraged, and informers rendered infamous; and as spirituous liquors, and in particular that which is called gin, continued to be sold in small obscure shops, almost in every street, few people thought it worth their while to take out these expensive licences. Thus was the law defeated, the quantity of distilled spirits every year increased, and

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and drunkenness, with its fatal consequences, rendered more prevalent by the very efforts made to check it. The number of gallons consumed in one year appeared to amount to seven millions. A new bill was therefore proposed, and passed in the house of commons, by which a small duty of one penny per gallon was laid on at the still head, and the price of the licences reduced to twenty shillings. It was easily foreseen that, by this act, a considerable sum would be raised; but it was not equally clear that the consumption of these destructive liquors would be lessened, and the progress of vice in any degree stopped. On the contrary, lord Hervey and other opposers of the bill, represented it as an indulgence granted to those who would pay the tax, a legal establishment of vice, and a method of increasing the income by the destruction of the people. In a case which so nearly affected the interests of society and religion, the ecclesiastical lords, and in particular the bishop of Oxford (Dr. Secker), expressed themselves with a zeal becoming their order. They attacked the bill by arguments. Lord Chesterfield exposed it to ridicule by admirable strokes of irony and wit. His speeches were exquisite pieces of humor and severity. He stiled the money that was immediately raised on this bill, the drinking-fund; and the law which authorized the levying of the duty, the effect of that practice, of which it was intended to be likewise the cause. It is reported that, on seeing the reverend bench voting on the same side with himself, he said he doubted whether he had not got on the wrong side of the question, not having had the honor of being in the company of so many lawn-sleeves for several years.

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His lordship had less scope to display his vein of pleasantry in the debate for quieting of corporations. It is sufficiently known that many of the ancient charters granted to particular boroughs were charged with clauses, which the alteration of times and circumstances have rendered absurd and impracticable. Such clauses, therefore, gradually sink into disuse; example supplies the place of rule, and a series of precedents, in this as well as in many other instances, is considered as the best interpreter of obsolete laws. But yet, some inconveniencies have frequently arisen from this prescriptive deviation. The neglect of some of the forms or conditions prescribed by such charters, in the election of officers, though often overlooked, had more than once afforded a pretence to ministers, to lay aside the nomination of obnoxious persons, and even to threaten communities with the forfeiture of their charters. This had been the case with regard to the mayor of Melcom-regis in the county of Dorset. The charter confined the election of that superior magistrate to the rank of simple burgesses, and, as it made the mayor alderman for life after he had passed through his office, it seemed to exclude him from ever becoming mayor again. By this provision, the number of aldermen in a small town must soon become equal to the number of inhabitants, and, in order to maintain the annual elections, the condition had been neglected for one hundred and twenty-five years. This neglect was taken notice of on the following occasion. In the late election of members of parliament, the mayor was thought to have been too much influenced by a party nomination, and he was soon after threatened with, and prosecuted by, a *quo warranto*. The cause, being determined against him at the court of king's bench, was brought by appeal

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appeal before the house of lords, where the sentence was confirmed upon the unanimous advice of the judges. Yet as, in the course of the proceedings, the absurdity of the clause, and the authority of an usage sanctified by a practice of above a century, were strongly urged by the opposition, and indeed allowed by the majority, a motion was made for a new law, to secure for the future the election of officers in corporate towns, when made according to ancient custom, though not agreeably to the express letter of the charters. A bill was accordingly drawn up and presented, but was found in many respects improper and insufficient. Lord Cholmondeley exposed the danger of assenting to an indiscriminate violation of charters. Lord Hardwicke allowed that the bill was in itself fundamentally right; but insisted that, in its present form, it would produce more and greater evils than those it was intended to remedy. He shewed that if the prescription were limited to a very short time, the most dangerous consequences would follow, and if it were fixed at a very long term, little or no effect could be expected from it. But why too long or too short, answered lord Chesterfield, is there then no medium, and could not such a medium be hit on? Yet, notwithstanding his lordship's efforts, it seemed to be at last allowed on all sides, that although the evil complained of was real, yet it was perhaps one of those it became the legislative power to wink at, or not attempt to cure radically, till the abuse should prove considerable enough to require it.

As soon as the session was over, the monarch set out for the continent. An equal number of British and electoral troops, joined to a small body of Austrians, defended the banks of the Mayne against

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a superior army of the French. A considerable reinforcement of Hessians and Hanoverian auxiliaries was advanced at a small distance; but their nearer approach was stopped by the enemy, and the junction could not be effected without a battle. Lord Stair, who commanded the confederate, otherwise called the *pragmatic* army, soon met with a strong opposition to his schemes, both from the ministers at home, and from the foreign generals. The first seemed inclined to an œconomical half war, the last wished to preserve their troops. This unhappy conflict had prevented the marshal from endeavouring to change an unfavourable situation, and from attempting to extricate himself by a decisive stroke. His camp, which occupied the string of a bow, was greatly outflanked by the French, who were masters of the country around him, and in a great measure cut off his communications. He found himself engaged in an ill managed defensive campaign, when his genius led him on to an offensive one. The king was impatiently expected to put an end to these irresolutions. He came at last towards the middle of June, with the duke of Cumberland, and put himself at the head of a divided, discontented, and disheartened army. In want of all necessaries, and under the impossibility of attacking the enemy, but with great disadvantage, he was forced, eight days after his arrival, to begin his operations by a retreat. This had been foreseen by the enemy. Marshal Noailles, their commander, had posted his army in such a manner, as to render the defiles, and in particular that of Dettingen, through which the British troops with the king were to pass, exposed to attacks on all sides. By this judicious disposition, and the fire of a numerous artillery, he thought himself certain either of reducing the confederates to a situation

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situation not very different from that of the Romans surrounded by the Samnites in the Caudine forks, or of cutting them off, without any danger to himself. He is even said to have entertained the hopes of making the king his prisoner. But all his measures were disconcerted, and the fortune of the day reversed, by the rash impetuosity of one of his general officers, who, instead of obeying his orders, and patiently waiting for his enemies, crossed a rivulet, and engaged himself in the marshy defile he was posted to defend. This obliged the French general to march to his support, and to abandon the advantage of his strong posts, as well as of his batteries on the other side of the Mayn. A general action was thus brought on, in which the gallantry of the troops, fighting under the eye of their king, animated by his words, and spurred on by his example, soon snatched the victory from the hands of their rivals, and forced those to fly from whom before they were retreating. The consequences of this action were not so considerable as they might have been, if the enemy had been immediately and closely pursued, their retreat over the Rhine cut off, or a powerful diversion made towards French Flanders. Instead of this, the field of battle was left to the enemy, who, not caring to venture upon another trial after the junction of the Hessians, retired leisurely to their own country. Lord Stair finding his projects flighted, himself disregarded, and foreign counsels and concerns preferred to national interest, thought proper to resign, and, as he expressed it, to return to the plough [59]. The duke of Marlborough, with several other officers, followed the example of the general, and, on their return, communicated their disgust to their countrymen.

The

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The members of the new cabinet were not much more fortunate in their political than in their military operations. The emperor, deserted by those to whom he owed his vain title and his real ruin, wished to break a connection so fatal to his house, and to effect, almost on any terms, a reconciliation with the queen of Hungary. As she had at that time little dependence but on the support of Great Britain, however she might have been influenced by female pride and just resentment, the English ministry could, and perhaps ought, to have obliged her to accept the advantageous offers that were made her. Unhappily both the counsellors near the king, and those in London, were far from being of this opinion. The advances of an humble enemy were haughtily rejected; those of the French were not better received; and the two factions that divided the cabinet threw on each other the blame of the ill success of the Hanau negotiations [60]. The new treaties of Dresden and of Worms were not concluded with greater unanimity. Though they procured to the queen of Hungary the assistance of the Polish and Sardinian monarchs, they drained the British treasury, and proved detrimental to the common cause. The one renewed the jealousies of the king of Prussia, the other alienated the Genoese, and rendered the Neapolitan neutrality ineffectual. Even the twenty thousand men, who were with great difficulty obtained from the Dutch, and marched more as spectators than as auxiliaries, furnished a pretence to the French king for attacking their barrier. Flushed with success, he invaded their country, and by a series of victories and conquests brought that flourishing commonwealth to the brink of ruin; thus verifying lord Chesterfield's prophecy, that, if Holland should ever be induced or obliged

to become a joint adventurer in the same project, her sufferings would be so much the greater, as she was more exposed to the strength and fury of the enemy [61]. 1743.

Nothing but lord Chesterfield's indignation and zeal for the honor of his country could justify the severity of his speech on the next meeting of parliament. Though he declared he did not intend to deny any of the panegyric to his majesty, or even to his ministers, yet, by an artful distinction between the words *behaviour* and *conduct*, he more than hinted, that, while he did not dispute the bravery of the monarch on the day of action, he thought himself at liberty to refuse his approbation to the management of the campaign.

He expressed himself with still greater freedom in the debates about continuing the Hanoverian troops in British pay after the expiration of the term for which they had been hired. No doubt, the heat of party carried him much too far, when he painted their conduct, with regard to the English, in the blackest colours. In the subsequent campaigns they effectually cleared their character; they gained the esteem, and have ever since preserved the friendship, of their fellow-subjects. The whole strength of both parties was displayed on this occasion, and the question, under different forms, was fully debated by the most accomplished orators of the time. In the house of commons stood, on one side, Sir William Young, Mr. Horace Walpole [62], Mr. Fox, and lord Percival [63]; and on the other, Mr. Nugent, Mr. G. Grenville, lord Quarendon, and Mr. Pitt. In the house of peers, the ministerial party was chiefly supported by the dukes of Newcastle and Argyle, the marquis of Tweeddale, the earls of Cholmondeley and Bath, and by the lords Bathurst, 1744.

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Bathurst, Carteret, and Hardwicke; while the chief opposers were the dukes of Bedford and Marlborough, the earls of Sandwich and Halifax, the lords Hervey, Lonsdale, Gower, and Talbot. But none of them made a more conspicuous figure than our earl, who did equal justice to his cause, and to those from whom he dissented. The earl of Morton [64] was distinguished in a particular manner by him. He called him the most formidable as well as most candid of his antagonists; one who disdained the hateful arts of sophistry, and who forced reverence, esteem, and love, even from those whom their conscience obliged to oppose him. Notwithstanding the liberties he took with the royal character, he paid some compliments to the personal virtues of the king, and lamented that his honest heart was too easily misled by artifice and misrepresentation.

But while the parliament was engaged in these useless and acrimonious debates, the French court, highly exasperated that their overtures of peace had been rejected, was aiming, by a sudden effort, to terminate the war. While patriots were contending, and statesmen lulled in security, an invasion of the island was preparing, the more alarming as it was unexpected. Cardinal de Tencin, the petulant successor of the more moderate Fleury, who owed his dignity to the pretender, was resolved to make at least the appearance of an effort in his favor. With this view his eldest son was sent for from Italy, and preparations made to convey the young adventurer into England, with a considerable body of troops, in hopes of dividing the nation, and of disturbing, if not subverting, the government. Several ships of war and transports had been assembled at Brest and Rochefort, with as much

much secrecy as expedition; fifteen thousand men were ready to embark at Dunkirk, Boulogne, and Calais; and count de Saxe, the most active of the French generals, was appointed to command this expedition. It is even said that he had taken a trip to London in the course of the winter, and had concerted the plan of operations with some of the disaffected party. The month of February was pitched upon for this undertaking; the transports were ready, and the fleet intended to support them was cruising in the channel from the Lizard to the Downs, before the British cabinet were sufficiently roused. Happily a violent storm that arose, drove ashore, destroyed or damaged the transports, greatly annoyed the French fleet, and nearly occasioned its destruction. In the mean while, Sir John Norris, who with great difficulty had slipped out of Portsmouth, had found means to join the ships that came out from the river, and to assemble a fleet superior to that of the enemy; but he was prevented by wind and tide from coming up with them. The English coast, however, was now sufficiently guarded; all orders of men took the alarm, and expressed their zeal for the reigning family [65]; several noblemen raised regiments at their own expence, to employ them in the service of their king and country; and the earl of Stair, together with the duke of Marlborough, no longer remembered their causes of complaint. They offered their services to the king with great zeal, and were reinstated in their former command, thus forgetting their animosities to unite their efforts against their common enemy.

But even at this very instant a debate of some consequence arose in the house of peers. The law passed in the reign of queen Ann, making it treasonable

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sonable to correspond with the pretender, was, on account of this attempt, and of some discoveries that had been made, moved to be extended to his son. A bill was passed in consequence in the house of commons, and when it came before the lords, the earl of Hardwicke proposed to revive a clause for continuing the forfeiture of titles and estates upon the posterity of those who should be convicted of treasonable correspondences, during the lives of the two sons of the pretender, after the death of their father. The duke of Bedford, the young lord Hervey, and especially lord Talbot, warmly opposed the clause, which was defended with great ability by the lords Cholmondeley, Ilchester, and Carteret. The earl of Chesterfield took part with the former. He supported with great eloquence what he called the cause of future generations, as well as of justice and humanity. He availed himself of the authority of bishop Burnet, who, when the law of forfeiture was passed for Scotland in 1709, voted against it, and left it upon record that he did so [66]. He endeavoured to shew the absurdity of the proposed clause from political arguments, its iniquity from moral principles, and its contrariety to fundamental laws. “ I hope,” said he, “ to be heard
 “ with more attention, as I cannot be suspected of
 “ any private views, or imagined to speak from any
 “ other motives than conviction. I have no chil-
 “ dren to excite my tenderness, or turn me aside
 “ from the most rigid justice. These are times, in
 “ which it is no diminution of happiness to reflect
 “ that the pleasures of a parent are denied, times
 “ in which it may be reasonably the desire of every
 “ lord rather to leave behind him a good example
 “ than a numerous posterity.—The reverend pre-
 “ lates are less interested in the decision of this great
 “ question than the rest of your lordships, since their
 “ titles

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“ titles do not descend to their posterity, and there-
“ fore if they oppose this clause, they can only op-
“ pose it from their persuasion that it is absurd and
“ unjust. But you, my lords, whose titles and whose
“ fortunes are hereditary, and who think it some
“ part of your happiness that your posterity will en-
“ joy your honors---have still other reasons to influ-
“ ence you to opposition. You, my lords, whose ho-
“ nors are antient, and who derive fame and dignity
“ from the actions of your illustrious ancestors, un-
“ doubtedly desire to transmit these advantages to
“ future generations. And you, my lords, whose
“ honors are lately conferred upon your families,
“ must desire that they may, in time, obtain the
“ sanction of antiquity. But if this clause should
“ once be made a law, the existence of our noble
“ families is at the mercy of every prince, of every
“ minister, of every informer---It will be no security
“ to be without guilt; he only can imagine himself
“ out of danger, who is without fortune---Let us
“ not, my lords, make ourselves infamous to our
“ posterity, by bequeathing them a law, which must
“ keep them in perpetual alarms, and which will
“ give wickedness so much advantage over virtue---
“ Let us not break through all the rules of morality
“ only to insure liberty---If we must offer incense to
“ the throne, let us offer it at our own expence,
“ that posterity may rather ridicule our folly than
“ curse our wickedness; and let us resolve not to
“ prostitute the power, with which the virtue of our
“ ancestors has invested us, to the destruction of
“ those, who, in time, will count us among their
“ progenitors, but with this difference, that, as we
“ may reflect with veneration and gratitude upon
“ that courage and honesty by which we are enno-
“ bled, they will mention with shame and con-
“ tempt

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“tempt that cowardice and flattery with which they
“are enslaved.” I could not resist the satisfaction
of transcribing these valuable specimens of British
eloquence, and cannot help thinking, that even
Demosthenes himself would not have disowned
them.

And yet if a Phocyon had appeared in the midst
of such an harangue, would not the Greek orator
have apprehended the pruning of his periods [67],
as our animated earl must have done the animad-
versions of the more calm lord chancellor, who ana-
lysed and answered his speech? Allowing him the
merit of oratory, he seemed to dispute with him
that of precision and close reasoning. He demon-
strated the justice of the forfeiture from the origin of
hereditary possessions; he referred its propriety to
the law of necessity, superior to all other laws; he
shewed how much the love of our country ought to
be superior to all other motives, and represented
the strength of parental attachments as a guard
against public offences. The practice of all ages
and of every nation was likewise urged in defence
of the law, both by him and by the bishop of Ox-
ford (Dr. Secker). This prelate took pains to re-
concile the punishment of fathers upon children
with some texts of the old testament, which had
been adduced against it, and appealed to the au-
thority of the great Roman orator [68], an autho-
rity surely superior on such a point to that of bishop
Burnet! It is with peculiar satisfaction I observe,
that this interesting debate gave rise to a most ex-
cellent work entitled *Some considerations on the law of
forfeiture for high treason*. This book, which was
written and published without the name of the au-
thor, a few months after the alarm of this French
invasion, is now well known to have been written
by

by the noble son of the great promoter of this bill, whose talents he possessed, whose steps he followed, whose honors he merited, and alas ! for too short a time attained [69].

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As our earl had been happy enough to form early connections with men of superior parts, abilities, or virtues, he every year experienced the regret of being deprived of some of his friends. His attachment to Mr. Hammond has been already mentioned. This gentleman, for whom he had procured a seat in parliament [70], died in the course of this winter. Lord Chesterfield was greatly affected with his loss, and testified his regard and esteem for this amiable companion and poet, by taking care of what he left behind him, his *Delia* and his works. These, consisting of elegies written in the true style of *Tibullus*, had been intrusted to his care, and they were published by him, ennobled with a preface expressive of his feelings, and worthy of his pen [71].

Superior in parts, but not equal in sentiments, died in the course of the same winter the great Mr. Pope. Lord Chesterfield, who for many years had enjoyed as considerable a share in his intimacy as any of his contemporaries, and who, by having passed many days with him at his house at *Twickenham*, had the best opportunities of observing him in his private hours, did justice to his memory on all occasions. He considered him as not inferior to *Horace* [72], and imputed the asperity of his muse to the feelings of the poet, rather than to the natural disposition of the man. On his part, Mr. Pope often expressed the high opinion he had of his noble friend. Among several instances I find the following upon record. “ Being one day in company at lord Cob-
ham’s with a great number of persons of distinc-
“ tion,

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tion, who were scribbling verses on the glasses, he
 “ was desired by lord Chesterfield to oblige them
 “ with a distich *extempore*.” “ Favour me with your
 “ diamond, my lord,” said the poet, and immediately wrote on his glass,

“ Accept a miracle instead of wit,
 “ See two bad lines with Stanhope’s pencil writ.”

A finer though equally short panegyric was made of him and of Mr. Pulteney by the same hand [73].

“ How can I, Pulteney, Chesterfield, forget,
 “ While Roman spirit charms and Attic wit.”

With these sentiments, it is rather surprizing that he should have omitted him in his will. I have been informed that some coolness had arisen between them on account of the dutchess of Marlborough, whose character, under the name of *Atossa* [74], Mr. Pope was in vain solicited to suppress.

That celebrated dutchess herself paid the great debt to nature, the 18th of September, 1744, in the 85th year of her life. Her esteem for, and attachment to lord Chesterfield, were in her own manner strongly expressed in her will. She bestowed upon him her best and largest diamond ring, together with the sum of twenty thousand pounds, and the reversion of her Wimbledon estate, on failure of the Spencer family, “ out of the great regard she had
 “ for his merit, and the infinite obligations her grace
 “ received from him.” She desired his lordship to take upon him the care of superintending the history of the great duke of Marlborough, the writing of which she committed to Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet. There is something so particular in her grace’s manner of expressing her intentions with regard to that work, that, I believe, the reader will not be displeased

ed to find part of the article of her will relating to it in a note [75].

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War was at length openly declared by the French court against the British king and the Austrian queen; and to punish the Dutch for what they had done, as well as to deter them from doing more, hostilities were begun on their barrier. This step was announced by the ambassador Fenelon [76], who, in taking leave of the States General, declared to them his master's displeasure, unless they immediately abandoned their allies, and accepted of a neutrality. They demurred, took a middle way between war and peace, and, in the mean while, the French king himself, at the head of one hundred thousand plenipotentiaries, appeared on their frontiers. As no preparation had been made, two or three of the strongest towns were taken almost without resistance. These conquests would probably have been followed by many others, had not a sudden event put a stop to this brilliant expedition for this campaign. The passage of prince Charles of Lorraine over the Rhine obliged the French to recall a considerable part of their army, in order to defend their own provinces. The confederates were now much superior in Flanders; and count Saxe, with an army not equal to half the number of their forces [77], was reduced to the necessity of acting upon the defensive. But the commanders of the allied army were too generous to take advantage of this inequality. War was made against the prime minister much more than against the enemy. The generals, influenced by opposite interests, spent their time in contentions with each other; the Dutch were irresolute, the Austrians unprepared. No action was attempted, for want of harmony; no siege, for

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for want of cannon [78]; and in those plains where Marlborough had gathered laurels, forage was now collected, and contributions raised [79].

These dissensions in the ministry extended their influence on the operations in the Mediterranean. Two admirals, each chosen by one of the parties, were sent out together, with a superior force, to block up the united fleets of France and Spain. It was previously known that they could not agree; and it was even suspected, that one of them would not assist the other. The event of the action near Toulon proved the justness of these suspicions, and the fatal effects of pique and resentment. The subsequent trials of the admirals at home shewed equally the effects of favour and partiality. The commander who fought was disgraced, against the inclinations of the king; and, notwithstanding the clamors of the nation, the cautious one was acquitted.

The king of Prussia did not care to trust any longer to a ministry, the majority of which were far from being zealous in his cause. Apprehensive for his own conquests, if once the queen of Hungary were enabled to crush her other enemies, and enraged that his intercession in favor of the unhappy head of the empire had been despised, he thought proper to employ more powerful solicitors; and, by his seasonable diversion in Saxony and Bohemia, forced prince Charles to repass the Rhine, and fly to the defence of his sister's dominions. This fatal step turned the scale on the side of the French, and put into their hands the fortune of the war.

Lord Carteret, being thus disappointed in his extensive projects, could no longer maintain his ground against the efforts of those whom he despised. The people, who had hitherto only experienced an
increase

increase of taxes from what was called the *drunken* administration, easily yielded to the insinuations of his enemies, and the sovereign was obliged to sacrifice the only man he confided in, to private jealousies and to public clamor.

A treaty had been for some time negotiating between the old part of the ministry and the members of the opposition ; but it was not concluded before the close of this year. It was called the *coalition*, or *broad-bottom treaty*. Lord Chesterfield, who was at the head of that party, had long declared for an honorable peace ; or, till that could be obtained, for an exclusive exertion of British forces on that element where they are truly formidable. On this principle a league was formed between the two parties, to drive out the minister, who was looked upon as their common enemy. This was a matter of no small difficulty. Lord Carteret had got possession of the royal ear ; and the only way to effect it was to persuade the king, that his favorite measures would be pursued, and carried on with greater efficacy, by ministers of a more popular cast. Lord Chesterfield was proposed as being equal to the obnoxious minister in his political knowledge of the interests of princes, and as the most likely person to prevail with the States to join heartily in the common cause. Necessity alone could induce George II. to employ a man whom, for a number of years, he had been taught to consider as his personal enemy [80], and whom, in return, he had not treated as a friend. He had, however, no great objection to avail himself of the earl's interest in Holland, and was even willing to send him from thence, as lord lieutenant, to Ireland, if for no other reason, to keep him still at a distance. But

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he wanted to make the admission of the earl into the cabinet a reward for services rather than a condition of his being employed ; and persisted in delaying, at least for a time, to receive him into the closet. Lord Chesterfield peremptorily insisted upon both these circumstances. The audience was accordingly granted ; but the monarch, ever superior to dissimulation, received him with great coldness. *You have received your instructions, my lord,* were the only words which he spoke, in answer to the earl's application to be honored with his majesty's commands. This is not the only instance, in this reign, of a subject's forcing his way to his master, and obtaining or recovering his favor.

Thus was lord Chesterfield, after an opposition of ten years to public measures, called upon once more to take a part in administration. Admitted on his own terms, and without being obliged to sacrifice either his friends or his principles, he had the satisfaction of being called by the voice of the nation : and while one part of Europe dreaded the influence of so able a negociator, the other loudly expressed the highest satisfaction at so judicious a choice. To shew how far he was able to answer the great expectations universally entertained of him, will be the subject of the following section.

SECTION



Alford sc.

S E C T I O N V.

1745.

THE commonwealth of the United Provinces had hitherto avoided to act as principals in the present dispute. They had shewn an equal reluctance to abandon the queen of Hungary, and to commence hostilities against the French king. Faithful to their great De Witt's maxims, they had enjoyed peace amidst the tumults of war; and, *considering the commotions of their neighbours as so many opportunities for them to enlarge their trade and increase their wealth, they seemed little inclined to drop the substance, in order to catch at a shadow* [1].

This irresolute conduct had exposed them to some inconveniencies. Roused to action by the representations of their own as well as of English patriots [2], and awed into submissive tranquillity by the eloquence and menaces of French agents, they were forced to take some ambiguous steps, unsatisfactory to one of the parties, and unpleasing to the other. They granted some subsidies to the late emperor's daughter, but those were given slowly, and with a sparing hand. They increased the number of their troops, but employed them chiefly to supply the deficiencies of the Austrians in their own barrier towns; and those of their corps

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which had taken the field the year before, were cautiously kept from coming into action.

The earl of Chesterfield had been too well acquainted with the principles of Dutch politics during the course of his first embassy in Holland, to believe that so cautious a people could easily be induced to desert them. He knew that *to be safe was their first concern, and to be rich their second*. Indeed he was so far converted to their system, that he adopted it in great measure for his own country, and made no scruple openly to declare, that *except when the Dutch barrier is in danger, it can never be the interest of this nation to enter into a land war* [3].

This, indeed was now the case. The invasion of the Low Countries by the French struck terror into the different orders of the state. The Dutch mob, not unlike other mobs, and perhaps still less manageable, when excited by wild enthusiasts and artful demagogues, exclaimed that their rulers were lulled by French influence, or perhaps by French gold. The exhausted state of the public treasure, the ruinous condition of the fortifications, the emptiness of the magazines, the neglect of the military discipline, the inexperience of the officers, and the weakness of the administration, had reduced the republic to the state in which it was in the year 1672, when Lewis XIV. subdued four of the provinces; and, as the cause was the same, to wit, the want of a chief, similar consequences were justly apprehended, and the same remedy desired and pointed out.

This critical situation had long been foreseen by lord Chesterfield. He had warned his countrymen repeatedly not to persist in measures calculated to
serve

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serve a foreign interest. As the queen of Hungary had unexpectedly been restored to the best part of her hereditary possessions, he judged it inexpedient to contend for the rest. All further schemes for her aggrandisement were treated by him as chimerical and destructive. He thought *an equivalent for Silesia was to be looked upon as the most romantic of all the state Quixotisms of these Quixot times* [4], and wished to save his country *from the reproach of being the wind-mill-fighter of Europe* [5].

As our earl's ideas were so well known to the old ministers, the resolution of sending him over to Holland, in order to defeat prejudices so deeply rooted, must at the first view appear extremely absurd. But two ends were to be answered, from his undertaking so difficult a negotiation. The first was to represent his lordship's *acceptance of that employ as an argument that he had undergone a political regeneration, and that he was not only satisfied with his majesty's measures, but ready to further them to the utmost of his power* [6].

The second was to be enabled to convince their sovereign that what so popular a minister could not accomplish, was really impracticable, and by degrees to induce him to adopt true national measures from the impossibility of pursuing any other [7].

The new ambassador arrived on the 11th of January at the Hague; where he was to meet with the assistance of Mr. Trevor, the present lord Trevor, who was then his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary with the States General. As he was to stay there but a short time, he did not take a great number of attendants with him, nor any companions but his friends Mr. Mallet and Mr. Dayrolles, in whom he expected and found an agreeable society, as well as useful assistance.

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The credentials given to the earl, expressed his majesty's desire that the States might be induced to unite their forces and interests in the support of the common cause; and he was authorized to concert with their ministers and generals, as well as with those of the other allies, the proper measures to be pursued, in order to obtain as speedily as possible a good and solid peace, by carrying on the war with vigor.

The plan laid down in the ambassador's instructions was strictly followed by him; and, were the account he is said to have written of his embassy ever to see the light, it would appear how earnest he was to obtain from the Dutch what he believed they ought, and perhaps wished they would refuse. He pressed them *to come roundly into the war*, and stipulated with them the proportion of the subsidies and troops to be furnished by each side.

The Spanish ambassador, the marquis de St. Gil, but especially the abbe de la Ville, who succeeded the marquis de Fenelon as French minister at the Hague, did not fail to oppose lord Chesterfield in the course of his negociation. The abbe was in every respect an antagonist worthy of him; and his lordship has given so lively an account of the manner in which he endeavoured to carry his point, notwithstanding his competitor's efforts, that I shall not scruple to insert it in a note [8].

Philanthropy, however, and true policy, were stronger in the earl's breast than the desire of succeeding in his warlike negociation. He held up the olive branch at the same time that his duty obliged him to spirit up the Dutch to gather laurels. He tried to induce the ministers of the contending powers to bring their respective courts to terms of accommodation,

commodation, if an honorable peace were proposed; and he seems afterwards to have done full justice to abbe de la Ville, in supposing that these were likewise his real sentiments [9].

Unfortunately several causes concurred in rendering their joint efforts ineffectual. The two parties which divided the republic were, from different motives, equally averse from peace. Fear deterred the one, and interest influenced the other. The republicans, already suspected of having betrayed their country to the French [10], were apprehensive of being made the victims of an incensed people, if they consented to an ignominious desertion of the common cause. The stadtholder on the other hand rejected all offers, even of an advantageous pacification, which would have overturned their schemes, and retarded the elevation of the prince of Orange. But the circumstance which more effectually obstructed the wished-for reconciliation was the death of the emperor Charles VII. Grief and disappointment put an end to his life, the very day that the ambassador set out from London. This event, together with the quadruple alliance concluded at the same time, and the attack made upon the Hanoverian territories by marshal Belleisle, opened a new field of enterprize to the sanguine projectors of both nations. The wild schemes of humbling both France and Prussia were resumed with rather a better prospect of success; especially after the young duke of Bavaria's treaty with the queen of Hungary had secured to her a body of auxiliary forces, a majority of votes in the electoral college, and the restoration of the imperial dignity to her family by the election of her husband.

Thus pushed on by the current, lord Chesterfield succeeded beyond the expectations of those who sent him.

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him. The states, indeed, refused to declare war, but they agreed to carry it on. They promised, upon paper, to maintain 50,000 men in the field, besides 10,000 in their garrisons. The mercantile spirit manifested itself in settling the proportion of the expences. But the ambassador had orders not to object to trifles; and he punctually obeyed. Instead of the two fifths, which had formerly been demanded, one third of the old subsidies, and only one fourth of the new ones, was now accepted.

In the principal article our earl gave great satisfaction to his royal master. The duke of Cumberland, already put at the head of the British forces, was by the ambassador's industry appointed commander in chief of the confederate army [11]. This appeared as if the Dutch were in earnest; and yet perhaps they only complimented a foreign prince at the expence of their own. The young duke was deservedly the favorite of a brave people, as well as of their king. First of the Hanover line born in England, he had shewn himself at Dettingen worthy of the title of a British prince, and possessed all the military ardor of his father. But these very circumstances, joined to the superiority of his rank, which put him above the controul of a colleague [12], must even then have alarmed confederate people. They must have been shocked to see that with inferior forces he was suffered to encounter the ablest general of the age, placed at the head of an army exercised in many campaigns, and fighting under the eyes of their king. I know that, nearly under the same disadvantages, the son of Edward III. defeated a French army, and made the king his prisoner. But the commander of that army was not a marshal de Saxe; and men such as the black prince are seldom met with more than once in the annals of any nation.

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As the great superiority of the French troops over those, with which the duke entered the field, was sufficiently known, a defensive campaign might have been most eligible, at least till a fresh supply of auxiliary forces could be procured. But this by no means suited with the disposition of the young general. The plan which the king and his ministers had settled at St. James's, and which the English ambassador was instructed to communicate to the respective commanders at the Hague, was to wait only till the French were engaged in a siege, and then to attack their divided army [13].

This project might have succeeded, had the inequality been less, or the secret better kept. But the enemy were apprised of the design, and had with great skill prepared to render it ineffectual. Their lines were made almost inaccessible by the art of their engineers, and impregnable as well as destructive by their artillery. Such notwithstanding was the intrepid behaviour both of the national and electoral troops; such was the gallantry of the royal chief [14], that the issue was like to have been as glorious as it proved fatal to the confederates. Their formidable column, intrepid and unshaken, had driven the whole force of the enemy, and there remained only a small reserve to encounter, much inferior to a body of eight thousand Hanoverians, which had unaccountably been dismissed [15]. But this reserve, consisting chiefly of Irish regiments [16], was sufficient to repel the last efforts of men, led for the third time to destruction, thinned by the enemy's cannon, wearied out with the slaughter they had made, and retiring with this consolation, if it could be one, that they yielded the palm to their own countrymen.

Had this fatal event, convincing as it was that no good could be expected from the continuation of
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the war, produced the same effect upon the sanguine monarch and his temporizing minister as it did upon lord Chesterfield, the nation perhaps would have profited by the disappointment. France, especially after the loss of Cape Breton, was sufficiently disposed to balance accounts. It was not her interest that the king of Prussia should aggrandize himself, even at the expence of the house of Austria. To maintain an equilibrium between these two powers, she was ready to favour the election of the grand duke of Tuscany to the imperial dignity. The other points in dispute might easily have been adjusted, and the contending powers would all have been benefited by a cessation of hostilities. The elevation of a stadtholder would still have taken place, but in a more secure and less tumultuous manner. The wealth, the strength, the honor of the British nation would no longer have been sacrificed to foreign interests, the rebellion would not have ensued, or at least would not have remained so long uncrushed, and one useful lesson would have saved the repeated mortifications of succeeding campaigns.

Lord Chesterfield had long wished for an opportunity of rewarding the services of his chaplain; and this opportunity offered while he was at the Hague. A vacancy having happened in the bench of bishops in Ireland, lord Chesterfield wrote to lord Harrington who was then with the king at Hanover, recommending doctor Chenevix to the vacant see. He received a polite answer, rejecting in civil terms the recommendation. Lord Harrington at the same time assured lord Chesterfield, that his Majesty would accept of any other person he should name, and therefore advised him to *look out* for another bishop; to which lord Chesterfield replied, that he begged

begged his lordship would desire the king to *look out* for another lord lieutenant. The reply had its effect; doctor Chenevix was made bishop of Killaloe, and a few months after translated without opposition to the see of Waterford.

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The business of the embassy being finished, the earl received his fresh credentials, and took leave of the states general, eight days after the battle of Fontenoy. The discourse which he delivered on this occasion, was a short, lively, and indirect reply to Fenelon's farewell speech. He described the advantages arising from the close union of the British and Dutch nations, an union not the effect of transient views or accidental junctures, but the consequence of their reciprocal and invariable interests, pointed out by their respective situations, and confirmed by the uninterrupted experience of almost a century. This was artful, as it recalled to the states the dreadful effects of their former dissensions, and in particular the imminent danger which their country had so narrowly escaped in 1672; a danger which as it now again hung over their heads, could only be avoided by adhering closely to their alliance with Great Britain. He likewise expressed his grateful regard for their high mightinesses, and his attachment to the republic. The states, in return to the ambassador's professions, testified in their letter to his sovereign, their esteem for the talents, abilities, and prudence, of so eminent a negotiator [17].

The early close of the session of the British parliament this year, permitted the monarch to revisit his electoral dominions. Lord Chesterfield arrived at his house in London the same day that the king set out from Harwich, and was deprived of the honor of delivering to him a verbal account of his embassy.

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It is a matter of doubt whether this was altogether the effect of chance ; but as his landing at Dublin some months after happened also the same day that the king arrived in England, it may be suspected that neither of the parties was desirous of an interview as cold as the preceding had been.

The representations, which his excellency made to the regency [18], of the dispositions of the Dutch, and of the state of their affairs, were by no means calculated to recommend a perseverance in measures which they had agreed with him to discourage. But the earl's colleagues had now altered their notions ; nor could the further successes of the French in the course of this year, the four victories of the Prussian king, the advantages gained by the Spaniards and their new allies the Genoese in Italy, nor even the alarms of the rebellion at home, disturb them from their unaccountable security. Flushed with the conquest of Cape Breton [19], and buoyed up with expectations from new expeditions, new negotiations and new subsidies, they received with coldness the proposals of the French ministers at the Hague, for assembling a congress, and putting an end to the war. Instead of availing themselves of the intelligence procured by the ambassador, and agreeable to their stipulations of making use of the full power they had to bring about a peace, they determined to continue the war, and lord Chesterfield was prevented from making any further remonstrances, by being obliged to set out for Ireland, in consequence of the breaking out of the rebellion in Scotland [20].

The situation of domestic affairs, indeed, was such as to require the most prudent management, as well as most vigorous exertion of power, in the several

several parts of the British empire. England, which was supposed to be out of reach of danger, was suddenly struck *from a cloud that seemed to be at first no bigger than a man's hand* [21]. The rebellion that broke out about the middle of this year, too much despised in the beginning, soon became formidable from the weak efforts made to crush it proving ineffectual.

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The landing of a young and daring adventurer, the sudden and almost total submission of Scotland, the surprizing and routing of an English army by a handful of rebels, were the harbingers of still greater misfortunes. An undisciplined band of mountaineers, hardened by their climate and their zeal, were led on by a few ruined desperate chiefs, who by a sudden invasion, attempted to shake their sovereign's throne. In their hopes of reinforcements they were disappointed, but having seized upon Carlisle, unaccountably unprovided, they as unaccountably pursued their wonderful march towards London. The western road being left open to them, they did not fear to be overtaken by marshal Wade, who kept the eastern; and while he slowly crossed the country to measure the tract they ran over, they nearly gave the slip to the more alert duke of Cumberland. An universal alarm was now spread, and instead of asking whether the ministry had any design to extinguish the rebellion, it came to be asked whether it was in their power [22]. Every day gave rise to false reports from the secret well-wishers to the cause, and from the ministerial quarter [23]. Public credit was affected, jobbers were encouraged to advance money at extravagant rates, and great men to raise inactive regiments at their own expence [24]. The attachment of the nation to the reigning line
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of princes, under whom alone their liberties and religion could be preserved, was not more conspicuous than their anxiety in being at once deprived of those blessings, and one hundred thousand people in arms dreaded the approach of eight thousand banditti, ill clothed, ill armed, and ill fed. This crisis did not last long. The rebels stopped at Derby, and as nothing had kept up their spirits but the celerity of the march, they no sooner halted, but their courage failed them. Fresh divisions broke out among the chiefs, the motley crew could no longer be kept together at such distance from home, and they agreed in nothing but in turning back. Their retreat was as expeditious as their progress had been, they still had the good fortune to out-run the royal army, and next year that of surprizing and putting to rout an unguarded general. But this flight advantage accelerated their ruin. The duke pursued them into the heart of their country. They were again forced to fly before him, and being pushed to the northern extremity of the island were in sight of their own mountains completely defeated by him.

There was reason to apprehend still greater danger in Ireland. The state of government there was more unsettled, and civilization less advanced. Men deprived of their property, or rendered uneasy in the possession of it, were naturally inclined to change. As it was obviously the interest of the pretender to tempt his fortune in that island which had so long supported the king he claimed his descent from ; so it was natural that he should make a last effort in the third kingdom, after having been disappointed in the two former. The number of his friends there was supposed to be much more considerable. A constant inter-
course

course had subsisted between the descendents of the court at S. Germain's, and the Irish, who from their connection and prejudices, were inclined to the same side; and the French were much more at hand to assist them.

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Far from being terrified by these unfavorable appearances, lord Chesterfield set out with great alacrity for his government the last day of August. But before he left England, he was willing to shew that he intended to govern by himself. The office of principal secretary is not only a place of considerable profit, but it is likewise attended with considerable power, when the lord lieutenant is willing to throw upon another the load of public affairs. If the secretary be capable and enterprising, he becomes the principal, the governor is eclipsed, and shares only the odium, but never the honor, of his substitute's management. Several persons of great abilities as well as experience were accordingly proposed to the earl for that important office. But faithful to the rule he had prescribed to himself in his two embassies, he resolved to make superior abilities no part of the secretary's qualifications. He listened not to the intimations of favorites and ministers, and even resisted the insinuations of friendship which might have determined his choice in favor of Mr. Mallet. The gentleman he preferred was the late Richard Lyddel, esq; member of parliament for Bossiney in Cornwall. That gentlemen, he says, in a letter to his son [25], *was a very genteel pretty young fellow, but not a man of business.* This was the circumstance which dictated his choice, and on the first visit his secretary paid him, he told him, *Sir, you will receive the emoluments of your place, but I will do the business myself, being determined to have no first minister* [26].

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In another instance he likewise chose to be singular and peremptory. He openly declared, that if, during his stay in Ireland, any person should make a successful application to the king, for any place in his majesty's gift, through any other channel but his own, he would immediately throw up the lord lieutenancy [27]. Conscious of his integrity, he certainly was right in making this declaration, which perhaps would neither have been decent nor easily attended to, if a man of less resolution and consequence had at that time ventured to make it.

On his landing he found the high character he had acquired, of the greatest service to him. In an island esteemed not less boisterous than the element that surrounds it, he was particularly happy in quieting and captivating the turbulent disposition of the inhabitants; and Cicero, whom he had constantly before his eyes as an orator, became also the object of his imitation in his government.

The Irish parliament assembled the 8th of October. His lordship opened the session in a manner becoming the representative of a great king, addressing himself to a feeling people, with the authority of a ruler, and the affection of a father. His discourse was admired [28], and the dignity as well as gracefulness of his action was a great advantage to it. Truth and virtue, as he said of lord Scarborough, seemed to borrow his voice, and reason spoke the language of the heart. This gave such a weight to what he delivered that he gained unanimous praise and approbation. The august assembly that heard him were convinced that they might trust him, and that whatever power was lodged in his hands by the king and by themselves,

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no other use would be made of it but what tended to their safety and happiness.

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A military force and money are generally esteemed the two principal engines of government. The one as well as the other are applied for, in times of trouble, with earnestness and avidity, by timid or covetous chiefs. Lord Chesterfield had other resources. He knew, that the fewer wants he discovered, the more certain he should be of finding supplies in case of need; and that the affections of the people being once secured, their persons and purses would be at his service.

The regular troops then in Ireland amounted to so small a number, that they were thought very insufficient for the defence of the kingdom. Accordingly, several persons, for very obvious reasons, advised that four thousand men should be immediately raised. Lord Chesterfield acted differently. The British cabinet were distressed; they continually pressed him for assistance, and he consented to part with four battalions to reinforce the duke's army. These troops, thus transferred from the Irish to the English establishment, were afterwards replaced; but this was done, not by the expensive mode of new regiments, which, from the disposal of the commissions, would have enabled the governor to oblige his friends, and increase the number of his dependents; but by additional companies, in which the officers children, who were desirous of it, were presented with ensigns commissions, which he himself signed by virtue of his majesty's royal sign manual for that purpose.

The same principle of generosity directed him both in his application for supplies, and in the man-

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ner of raising them. He asked for no more than £.607,080, and part of this sum was to be applied to the discharge of a former debt. It was proposed to raise this sum by debentures, which would have been soon filled, if all those who immediately offered to subscribe considerable sums, had found his lordship ready to receive them. He suspected, that the hope of considerable advantage was the motive that made them so pressing; and upon enquiry he found that these debentures already bore a premium of six *per cent*. This would have been thought a very moderate profit in England. But lord Chesterfield had the good of the people committed to his care too much at heart, not to endeavour to alleviate their burthen. He took the resolution of trying to borrow the money without paying interest for the first year; and this experiment, which had never been attempted before, succeeded to his wish.

A principal article of the expences was the buying of arms for the service of the provinces in case of an invasion. It was computed that thirty thousand firelocks and bayonets and ten thousand broad swords would be necessary, for the purchase of which sixty thousand pounds had been voted. If common contractors had been employed, the money would have been spent, and perhaps the arms would not have been good. Lord Chesterfield chose to employ honest as well as intelligent men, and pitched upon two officers for that service. They were ordered to inspect the arms, and to accept of none but after having proved them. Mr. Chenevix, brother to the bishop, and lieutenant-colonel of the carabineers, had the management of the arms made at Dublin, and the other officer was sent to Birmingham for the same purpose. They both executed

cuted their commission in a manner consistent with their character, and answerable to the noble employer's expectations. There was no defect in the arms, and a saving in the expence of five and twenty thousand pounds. That sum was applied to many public uses, and in particular to the completing of the buildings in the castle.

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In a country, where a majority of the inhabitants refused allegiance from motives of conscience, it might have been thought adviseable to express a detestation of these rebellious principles, and a dislike to those who avowed them. The prevailing religion of the country was, with too much reason, looked upon as the nursery of blind zeal, disaffection, and revenge. Though it had not the same number of followers as at the period of the revolution; since, instead of five and thirty to one, which they were then, the Roman catholics were now supposed to be only five times more numerous than the Protestants; yet such a disproportion was alarming. Popery and jacobitism were supposed to be inseparable; and it was thought that the only way to check the progress and prevent the fatal consequences of either, was strictly to carry into execution and enforce the penal laws enacted against both.

Lord Chesterfield could not possibly have been censured, had he conformed to the method practised in the three kingdoms, and particularly at this time in England. Upon the first breaking out of the rebellion, the private Popish chapels in the metropolis had been searched for, and ordered to be shut up, proclamations were issued to compel the priests to leave the capital, and the refractory were imprisoned and threatened with severe punishments. The

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new lord lieutenant did not want for advisers, who pressed him to follow this example. His enlarged notions of humanity and true politics induced him to pursue a different and much wiser course. He allowed the Roman catholics the free use of their religion, and far from attempting to shut up their places of worship, he rather wished them to continue open; and prevented any disturbance from being given to those who resorted to them [29]. His view was to discover whether the people of that denomination remained in the kingdom, or left it to go over to their supposed friends in Scotland. To be informed of that material fact, he took care to engage persons to attend at their chapels and fairs, and received with great satisfaction assurances that they were both as much frequented as ever. A certain proof of the confidence they placed in his promises, and of their desire not to molest government. The deluded adherents to the exiled family were treated with equal lenity and prudence. One of them, a Roman catholic, who had an estate in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and was looked upon as an agent to the pretender, was privately sent for to the castle. “Sir, said lord Chesterfield, I do not wish to inquire whether you have any particular employment in this kingdom, but I know that you have a great interest amongst those of your persuasion. I have sent for you to exhort them to be peaceable and quiet. If they behave like faithful subjects, they shall be treated as such; but if they act in a different manner I shall be worse to them than Cromwell.” Whether he would have really been so may be doubted; but this conversation, together with his watchful eye, had such an effect, that not one of them stirred during the whole time of the rebellion, and all the
informations

informations against particular persons were found absolutely groundless.

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His efforts to remove prejudices, and maintain harmony and benevolence, were seconded by writers whom he encouraged to support the same cause. Dean Swift was still alive, when lord Chesterfield arrived, but reduced to a state of total dotage and insensibility, which one month after ended in his death. This short interval was laid hold of, to publish under his name a new letter of a drapier [30] to the good people of Ireland, and particularly to the poor Papists. It was so much in the dean's stile, and was so greedily received, that it went through a variety of editions in a month's time. Indeed the many strokes of wit and humour that it contained, would induce me to suspect that his lordship had some share in it.

Berkeley, the bishop of Cloyne, employed himself in the same cause, perhaps more usefully than in his recommendation of tar water, or in his dialogues against matter. His letter to the Roman catholics of his diocese was worthy of a Christian bishop. He endeavoured to dissuade his fellow citizens and neighbours from falling into the same errors, which had been so fatal to their fathers; and, appealing to their reason, convinced them that their situation was as advantageous as they could wish it to be, and that it would be the height of imprudence to engage in a dangerous cause, to which neither interest did invite, nor "conscience did oblige them."

Reason never speaks in vain; the most hardened are insensibly softened by its voice. The Irish priests, sensible of the gentleness of the present administration, co-operated with their Protestant brethren to maintain order and tranquillity. Their pastoral letters,

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letters, public discourses from the pulpit, and private admonitions, were equally directed for the service of government.

The ill-grounded apprehensions of the friends to the present system were not less to be guarded against, than the enterprises of its enemies. This was by much the most difficult task ; but lord Chesterfield was equally successful in encouraging the former and disarming the latter. By constantly appearing to be afraid of nothing [31], he spread an universal belief that nothing was to be feared, and by the ridicule he threw upon the violent measures which were proposed to him, he manifested his desire of abstaining from them till there was real danger.

In the mean while, he neglected no precautions, and prepared himself for all events [32]. If the rebellion had reached Ireland, he had taken the resolution of commanding the army in person. Though he was himself no soldier, he believed that he could assist with his counsels those who were. In a conversation which he had with his chaplain, he told him that he would never submit to the pretender's government, but play with him double or quits. This, he said, was an expression which he borrowed from the earl of Devonshire, in answer to a message which he received at his seat in Derbyshire from king James II. upon the landing of the prince of Orange. That unfortunate monarch was weak enough to offer him, that if he would be his friend, he would remit the fine of thirty thousand pounds sterling laid on him for having struck a person within the verge of the court.

The Protestants in general gave on this occasion uncommon marks of zeal. All of them were not
equally

equally acceptable. Some great men applied for leave to raise regiments; but this proposal was rejected by lord Chesterfield. He thought it burthen some to the state, useless in point of service, and only calculated to promote private views. No man hated a job, and despised jobbers, more than he.

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On a very different footing were the associations formed by the protestants of different provinces, and especially of those which might have been most exposed to insurrections from within, or attempts from abroad. To be armed, and ready for defence, could at no time be improper; and those who, sensible of the blessings they enjoyed under a settled government, put themselves in a condition to fight for what is most dear to men, their laws, liberty, and religion, must at all times be an overmatch against private incendiaries or audacious invaders. This laudable spirit displayed itself and was encouraged in a particular manner in different parts of the kingdom. The county of Antrim alone furnished upwards of thirty thousand men; and the city of Dublin provided a regiment of horse militia consisting of six thousand men, three of foot of two thousand men each, besides several independent companies, and a corps of three hundred men volunteers [33].

As it was owing to the lord lieutenant's vigilance and resolution that the French and Spaniards did not attempt to land any troops in Ireland during the time of the rebellion, it was likewise an effect of his prudence and moderation that the horrors of a civil war did not reach that country. Distinctions of parties seemed to be abolished, and animosities to be forgotten as well as prejudices and suspicions. Religion became what it ought to be, a bond of union instead of an instrument of discord: superstition

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tion was enlightened, and fanaticism disarmed. Hence a phenomenon took place, not often beheld in times of tranquillity. Protestants and Roman catholics, natives and strangers, well-wishers and enemies to the pretender, all alike influenced by the example of their benevolent governor, indulged, respected, and would have loved one another, if he had continued a longer time among them.

It is the province of history to perpetuate the transactions of an administration, which it will ever be the interest of future lord lieutenants to study and to imitate. Unprovided as we are with sufficient materials, we must content ourselves with mentioning a few detached facts and general observations, which have been transmitted to us [34].

Lord Chesterfield, on his arrival in Ireland, found himself obstructed in his desire of rewarding merit and public services. The reversion of places granted by his predecessors to their friends left him but little to bestow. He resolved not to give the same reason of complaint to his successors. He accordingly never would grant any reversion; and even resisted the solicitations of a person for whom he had a particular regard; being determined, as he told one of his friends, to leave the kingdom with clean hands in every respect.

He thought the only honest and effectual methods to be employed with regard to Roman catholics, were good usage, supporting the charity schools, and adhering strictly to the gavel act [35]. The popish religion and influence could not, he said [36], be subdued by force, but might be undermined and destroyed by art. Slight of hand was necessary rather than a heavy hand. He therefore wished that

that the law by which papists are restrained in Ireland from purchasing land was annulled. By that indulgence he believed that their money would be kept in the kingdom, the government would have the strongest pledge of their fidelity, and sooner or later the estates would revert to protestants.

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A public register of popish priests, with a limitation of their number, had engaged his thoughts, but he feared that it would be impossible to get the consent of parliament. He found that the members were still too much blinded by prejudices of sect-animosity to treat the subject of popery with temper and moderation. The late lord Clanbrazil however, some years afterwards, brought into the house of lords a bill of the like nature; but lord Chesterfield's suspicions were verified; the bill was first clogged with unjust clauses, and afterwards rejected.

Among the alterations which he proposed, that which he had most at heart was to dispense all papists from taking the oaths of supremacy and abjuration, which no real papist could take; but to substitute to these the following solemn form of an oath of allegiance.

“ I A. B. duly considering the sacred nature of
“ an oath, and the horrible crime of perjury, which
“ by all religions in the world is justly abhorred as a
“ most damnable sin, do most sincerely promise
“ and swear that I will be faithful and bear true alle-
“ giance to his majesty king George the second, so
“ help me that great and eternal God, who knows
“ my inmost thoughts, and whom I now most so-
“ lemnly call upon to attest the truth of them.”
The person taking such an oath his lordship would
have obliged to recite it distinctly and deliberately,
and

1745. and not be allowed to mutter it over in the indecent manner in which oaths are generally taken [37].

If his lordship had returned to Ireland, he would have ordered new barracks to be built in those parts of the kingdom which are not amenable to the laws of the country. By this provision he wished to make the inhabitants know that there is a God, a king, and a government [38].

No person in so high a station was ever more easy of access. His door was open generally from nine in the morning to three in the afternoon, to any one who requested an audience. Nobody appeared in fear before him, none retired discontented. His manner of granting favors added to their value; and his refusals were softened with engaging marks of concern. Where he could redress, he did it speedily, and was particularly ready to assist the weak against the oppressions of the strong [39].

During his lordship's residence at Dublin, respect for the dignity of his office as viceroy prevailed over his natural propensities as a man.---No Pharaoh table, or high gaming of any kind, was permitted at the castle; he entirely abolished the perquisites of the groom-porter, and, to make it up to an officer on the half-pay who had the place, he procured a pension of sixty pounds for his daughter, and gave his son a commission in the army.

One day at his levee he observed an officer with scars in his face. He found upon inquiry that he was a captain on half-pay, and a person of good character. The scars, he likewise was informed, were the honorable marks of wounds received in his majesty's service. A nobleman of his benevolence wanted no further recommendation; and the first opportunity

opportunity that offered he gave a company to that brave man.

1745.

The pay of the officers of the yeomen of the guards having been represented to him as insufficient, it was raised at his solicitation. But no one had spoken to him in favor of the private men ; whom however he thought equally intitled to an augmentation. One evening, as he returned to the castle, attended by some of the yeomen, called in Dublin *battle axes*, he told one of them, I suppose you have heard that the pay of your officers has been raised. Why don't you apply to some of your friends to speak to me in your favor ? Upon their answering that they had no friends, he asked them, what do you think of me ? I am sure you deserve an increase as well as your officers, and I will be your friend. He accordingly soon afterwards raised their pay.

He procured, unasked, the title of earl of Blessington to lord viscount Montjoy, in consequence of the steady attachment of that family to the protestant interest. Lord Montjoy's lady, who was an heiress of a distinguished family, and greatly attached to an only son a most promising youth [40], was very much surprised when he complimented her on that occasion. He likewise procured the same distinction for two other viscounts, viz. for the late lord Tyrone father to the present earl, and for lord Grandison.

Soon after lord Chesterfield's return from his first embassy in Holland, Dr. Berkeley presented him with his Minute Philosopher, which was just then published, and met with uncommon approbation. His lordship esteemed the author still more than the book ; but no intimacy subsisted between them. When he came to Dublin, with the power as well

as

1745. as desire of rewarding merit, he embraced the first opportunity of shewing his regard for so respectable a character, and accordingly made an offer to the doctor of changing his bishopric of Cloyne for that of Clogher, which was of a much greater value. This consideration had no influence upon a philosopher, who had nothing little in his composition. He could not bear even the suspicion of having been bribed to write in favor of government, and therefore declined the exchange.

The most distinguished persons in Ireland for their talents and merit were those with whom lord Chesterfield was the most intimate. He used chiefly to consult the lord chancellor Jocelyn, Dr. Stone then bishop of Derry, and afterwards through his interposition raised to the primacy, Anthony Malone prime serjeant, Sir Richard Cox, lord chief justice Singleton afterwards master of the Rolls, Mr. Foster now lord chief baron, and especially Dr. Edward Synge bishop of Elphin. He entertained the highest opinion of Dr. Synge's integrity and abilities, and from motives of regard for him promoted his brother from the archdeaconry of Dublin to the see of Killaloe. A person having told lord Chesterfield that the public was at a loss to know by what interest he had been made a bishop, his answer was because he thought his brother the bishop of Elphin deserved two bishoprics.

1746. There was no opposition raised in either of the houses of parliament during lord Chesterfield's administration. A small flame only was kindled in the house of commons just before the close of the session, which was soon extinguished. As this trifling dispute had been raised by the master of the Rolls,

Rolls, the lord lieutenant sent for him, and after having heard what he had to say in vindication of his conduct, “Master,” said his excellency, “you must do the king’s business, or be turned out of your employment, and if you are, I shall not do with you as they do in England, for you shall never come in again as long as I have any power.” The master finding the lord lieutenant so peremptory, was glad to submit. If his post had become vacant during the time of his administration, he intended to have procured it for Mr. Anthony Malone; but to have obliged him to assist the lord chancellor as the master of the rolls does in England, whereas in Ireland the place is a mere sine-cure.

Though compliments, and especially in verse, bestowed upon persons in high stations, are seldom to be depended on, yet when they come from different quarters, and particularly when they express the language of the heart, and remain uncontradicted, even though nothing more is to be feared or expected from those to whom they are addressed, truth may be gathered from them. The Irish muses were very fruitful in their productions in praise of lord Chesterfield while governor of Ireland, as well as of the countess [41]; and, it would be equally difficult to enumerate them, and to point out the best. One of the shortest may be seen in the note [42]; and, if I am not mistaken, the ode, which was inscribed to his lordship on his receiving the seals of secretary of state in England, may not be thought unworthy of the place which I have given it in the appendix.

What has been said of verses holds equally good in regard to common dedications, the value of which is exactly in an inverse ratio to what the authors

1746.

authors receive or expect for their panegyric. The following address, therefore, by the contrary rule, may claim an exception. It came from Mr. Prior, a gentleman who had an estate of about £. 500 a year, and, what is preferable to any estate, a communicative disposition without any selfish views. Lord Chesterfield offered him an employment, but he refused it, saying that he wanted nothing, and would not accept of any thing. As he had every scheme at heart, which he thought for the advantage of his country, and was an intimate friend of bishop Berkeley, he caught his enthusiasm, and became a public advocate in favor of tar-water. To the narrative of cases which he published this year, he prefixed a dedication to the lord lieutenant. Such a man might be mistaken in his opinion of medicine, but could not be bribed in favor of any *person*; and we may believe him, when he gives to a nobleman whom he refused for his patron, a head to discern, and a heart to apply; when he holds forth to posterity his administration as founded on a thorough knowledge of the interests of the country; when he represents his management as equally generous of his own, and frugal of the public treasure; and, lastly, when he owns himself at a loss which to admire most, the true policy or the probity of the governor.

The physico-historical society, established two years before at Dublin, with a view to make inquiries concerning the natural and civil history of the different counties in Ireland, in order to perpetuate their antiquities, and to introduce useful improvements, consulted their own interests as well as the public voice in electing their new governor for their president. He became their patron, encouraged their pursuits, and received this year the first fruits of

of their labours in the description of the antient and present state of the county and town of Waterford, which was dedicated to him by Mr. Charles Smith the author. “The tract now offered to your lordship,” says the dedicator, “though but a description of a remote corner of the kingdom, may afford some idea of the country, which, under your excellency’s prudent administration, has the happiness to enjoy a serenity at present unknown to the greatest part of Europe; and it is not doubted, but that, under your influence, she will become every day more and more an additional increase of strength and honor to the neighbouring kingdom, which has so long nourished and protected her.”

1746.

That these were the sentiments and expectations of the whole nation, appears from the warm expressions of all the public bodies, on the lord lieutenant’s preparing for his return to England, but especially from the silence of envy, both at that time and ever after. To be as much regretted when he quitted his employment as he had been extolled when he entered upon it, is a glory singularly attached to the earl of Chesterfield, whose name still continues dear to that grateful and respectable people. His bust placed in the castle does him the greater honor, as it was fixed with public acclamations, and out of part of the savings of the public money.

Truly sensible of the nation’s esteem, and conscious that he deserved it, he took his leave of their representatives in parliament, in a speech equally well expressed and received as that which he made on their first meeting. Happy the man, who, speaking of himself, is sure that the voice of the public will be the echo of his own.

Upon

1746.

Upon his leaving the country, he desired the lord chancellor, the bishop of Elphin, and the lord chief justice, to consider of any laws that might be for the advantage of the kingdom, and to have them ready against his return.

Unfortunately for Ireland, that event never happened. Persons of all ranks, denominations, and religions, followed him with his lady to the water-side, to which he walked, and from which he *publicly* embarked. The bishop of Waterford, who was present at this pleasing but melancholy procession, expresses in the most feeling manner the universal acclamations of the people, who praised him, blessed him, and intreated him to return. But that return became perhaps less necessary, as the complete victory, which providence was pleased to grant to the British army under the command of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland [43] at the battle of Culloden, put a most happy end to the rebellion, and restored quiet to both islands. Yet to a man of lord Chesterfield's humanity, the scenes which always attend a rebellion must have been particularly distressing.

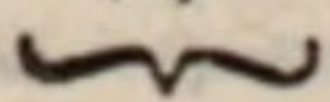
The affairs of the continent were far from having been amended by the diversion in Scotland; and the new ministry, though masters of a superior interest in parliament, by no means enjoyed the confidence of their sovereign. So little indeed was he satisfied with their management, that he had attempted to recall the dismissed minister, now become earl of Granville, of whose spirit and abilities in continental affairs he entertained a much higher opinion than of those of his rivals. The earl spoke the king's own language, and had done more for the electorate than even his predecessor Walpole. But those who had turned him out before were still against him, and by threatening to resign
all

all together, obliged their master to part with his minister, who kept the seals only three days [44].

1746.

Before we consider the share which lord Chesterfield had in the administration, and take a view of him as a statesman, after having attended him as a negotiator and a governor, let us be permitted to observe him in the still more interesting character of a father. Not having the happiness of being blessed with a legitimate offspring, he had transferred all his affections upon the natural son before-mentioned, and endeavoured to render him worthy of the name of Stanhope. While still a child, the care of instilling into his mind the rudiments of learning and the principles of morality had been committed to a French clergyman belonging to the same chapel, which his own preceptor had enjoyed [45]. That clergyman's gentleness of manners, and enlarged way of thinking, highly qualified him for such a trust. The famous Mr. Maittaire was at the same time employed in teaching him Latin. From these two masters every thing could be expected except the graces. These are not frequently found at Westminster school, where young Stanhope was sent by his father, and where he acquired a great fund of classical erudition. All this time we behold with pleasure his fond parent, amidst his important functions at Dublin, keeping up a constant correspondence with him, exciting his industry, enjoying his success, and mixing pleasantry with the most endearing admonitions. "As soon as I return to
"England, says he in one of his letters [46], there
"is a book that I shall read over very carefully, a
"book that I published not quite fourteen years
"ago: it is a small quarto, and though I say it
"myself, there is something good in it, but at the
"same time it is incorrect, and so inaccurate that

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“ I must have a better edition of it published, which
 “ I will carefully revise and correct. It will soon be
 “ much more generally read than it has been yet,
 “ and therefore it is necessary that it should *prodire*
 “ *in lucem multo emendatior.*”

Had lord Chesterfield proposed to himself no other view than to make his son fit for the middle, and perhaps the more happy station of life, his success would have been complete. But he wished to qualify him for a more shining situation, or, to hazard his own expression, to raise him upon a higher pedestal than his figure would bear. The science of the world is full as necessary as that of books for such a situation, and the young man, though not unfavourably treated by nature, required the assistance of art. The penetrating eye of his father soon discovered to him his son's deficiencies, and he immediately resolved to seek abroad for the remedy, which he despaired of finding at home. His view was to unite what he never had met with before, in any one individual, the solid learning of his own nation, and the ease, manners, and graces, which he thought were to be found no where but in France [47]. The war did not permit him to send Mr. Stanhope immediately to that great school of politeness, and he wished to prepare him gradually for those regions of taste, by making him spend a few years in Germany and Italy. To preserve the integrity of his heart untainted, and to cultivate his mind, he put him under the care of Mr. Harte, a gentleman of Oxford [48], who had been recommended to him by his friend lord Lyttelton. That gentleman certainly had none of the amiable connecting qualifications, which the earl wished in his son. But this was not all; as neither the taste, profession, nor indeed person of this new guide, would allow

allow him to attend his pupil in polite company, he too often, especially in Italy, trusted him to his young countrymen, who made him acquainted with the worst. We have reason to suspect that Mr. Harte's partiality to Greek, Latin, German law, and Gothic erudition, rendered him rather remiss in other points. Whoever will take the trouble of tracing the different steps of Mr. Stanhope's education, will perceive that this fundamental error in the plan was the source of all the future mistakes in his conduct. The graces escaped, and some at least of the virtues were lost.

1746.

A severe fit of illness obliged lord Chesterfield to have recourse to the faculty, the professors of which he alternately trusted and abused [49]. Thanks however, to them, and the Bath waters, he was soon restored to health.

The important services which his lordship had performed, both in Holland and Ireland, had in a great measure removed his majesty's prejudices against him; and the friend of his youth was likely to recover his former ascendancy over him. The pleasures of private and social life are seldom known to kings. If any person could have inspired the taste of them to the monarch, it would certainly have been a nobleman, not more distinguished by the brilliancy of his conversation, than by the engaging sweetness of his manners. Assiduous in paying his court at those hours when kings may sometimes lay aside majesty and remember they are men, and ready to seize any opportunity to divert and to please, he sometimes succeeded in unbending the brow of his master, and seducing him into a laugh [50]; an art of greater importance than is commonly imagined.

1746.

It is therefore by no means surprizing that the sovereign should have wished to draw near to his person the possessor of that art, and it would be more so that the old and prime minister, as jealous of his power as a lover is of his mistress, should have consented to see him so near the beloved object. But the fear of another favorite still within call [51], made him consent to substitute the only man who could counterbalance a more unpopular but more dangerous rival.

Lord Harrington [52], secretary of state for the northern department, as the duke of Newcastle was for the southern, had long felt the inequality of this association. Convinced of the ruinous tendency of a land war under the present circumstances, he refused to serve any longer with a colleague, who had veered from peace to war [53], and kept him out of the secrets of his office. It may be doubted whether he wished that his resignation should be accepted [54], but the king took him at his word, and pressed lord Chesterfield to accept of the seals in a manner which made a refusal impossible, even if he had had no secret view of preparing his son for the same office [55]. Lord Harrington was appointed to succeed him in the government of Ireland.

Thus was lord Chesterfield transferred from a post, where he enjoyed ease, dignity, and profit [56], to one attended with great difficulties, and in the present circumstances with danger. His inducement to accept of this post was noble: it was the motive of a good citizen, the hope of serving his country, and of saving a neighbouring sinking nation.

The state of the United Provinces was indeed critical. Their barrier was pulled down, their frontier laid open, their enemy preparing to overrun
their

their country, their rulers divided, and their people more and more dissatisfied with them. A congress for a peace had been assembled at Breda, but from the difficulties, which arose among the plenipotentiaries, it was apparent that an accommodation was at that time by no means desired by the British and Imperial courts.

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Vigorous measures might have been expected to be pursued by those who shewed so little inclination to peace; vigor however was not to be expected from them. The queen of Hungary, for want of an early remittance of supplies, could not send the troops stipulated for in time; the Bavarians, too late engaged, arrived still later, and prince Charles of Lorrain, the commander in chief, was exposed at Raucoux to the attack of an enemy, who, by the superiority of numbers, knew how to secure victory [57].

Under these unfavorable circumstances, the news of lord Chesterfield's having accepted the seals was received by the States General with the highest satisfaction. He had constantly shewn himself the friend of the republic; and though attached to the interests of the prince of Orange, was by no means desirous of protracting the war, in order to accelerate his elevation. This rendered the aristocratic party, which still held the rudder, equally happy in the hopes that the conciliatory talents of the new secretary would be exerted in procuring a peace, upon which alone their country's safety, as well as their own, depended. I have before me a letter from their principal minister at the conferences at Breda to his lordship, which expressed the state of the republic and his reliance on the earl's efforts to save it, in so strong a manner, that I hope the extracts from it, which I shall insert in a note, will not be unacceptable to my readers [58].

The

1747.

The plan of the next campaign had been settled before lord Chesterfield came into the administration. The expectations that were entertained of its success were alledged as reasons not to listen to the terms of accommodation repeatedly offered by France. The aristocratic party in Holland sent over baron Boetzelæer, to enforce these proposals; but he could not prevail over the enthusiastic spirit of the times. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland was to take the field early with an army of one hundred and forty thousand men, superior by twenty thousand to the utmost force the French could collect. The new secretary of state was, much against his will, hurried away by the torrent into the very measure which he had most opposed. But he did not fail to protest against it; and was assured, that if this effort did not prove effectual it should be the last, and the next offers which France or Spain might make, should be forthwith accepted [59].

Lord Chesterfield, however, was soon convinced that it would be very difficult to succeed in his great object. His colleague left him scarce a shadow of power. The disposal of every place, the secret correspondences abroad, the desertion of those friends whom himself had introduced, all conspired to convince him, “that all his art and address, “though diversified into a greater variety of shapes “and colours than the Proteus of the poets was supposed capable of assuming [60], would still be “insufficient to get the better of royal prejudices “and ministerial versatility.”

But if his hands were to be tied, he was resolved to preserve the use of his eyes. He availed himself of the king's personal regard, and of his credit with Mr. Pelham, to procure the nomination of a resident at the Hague in whom he could confide.

This

This gentleman was Mr. Dayrolles, whom we have mentioned before [61]. From that intelligent and faithful minister's informations lord Chesterfield was soon convinced of what he previously suspected, that the bad management of the war was at least equal to the obstinacy with which it was continued.

1747.

In one particular the event seemed to answer the promises of the minister. The national forces first took the field. They were made to quit their winter quarters before the end of March, and were encamped by the middle of the following month. As the spring advanced, the year itself was not so forward as the expectations raised at home of their exploits. Unhappily the magazines had been so much neglected, that instead of snatching some considerable advantage, the troops were forced to rest upon their arms for six weeks together, making war against the elements. This bravado, as well as the vain attempt upon Antwerp, were treated with a mortifying contempt by marshal Saxe; who, calm and unmoved in his cantonments, said, "when my antagonist has sufficiently weakened his army, I will convince him, that the first duty of a general is to provide for its preservation [62]."

He strictly kept his word; and while his enemies were hovering about in marches and counter-marches, detachments from his army, under Lowendahl and Contades, made an irruption into Dutch Flanders, took, almost without resistance, the most important fortresses, and subdued the whole province in less than a month.

This step, it must be owned, was more a proof of superior generalship than of wise politics. Instead of forcing the Dutch to conclude a separate peace, and throw themselves into the hands of France,

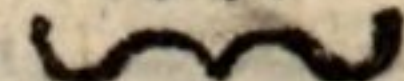
1747.

France, the people were roused into indignation and fury. The magistrates of the towns, whom they accused of treachery [63], were discarded; a stadtholder was tumultuously forced upon the States, and the revolution, in favor of the prince of Orange, was the work of a few days.

This event changed the face of affairs, and threw a sudden damp upon the projects of the enemy. If a rash engagement had been avoided, agreeably to the wishes of the new stadtholder [65], if the action of Laufelt had proved fortunate, or even if a sensible use had been made of that defeat, this campaign would have been the last, and lord Chesterfield would have had the satisfaction of contributing to the re-establishment of the peace on a solid and lasting basis [66].

It is well known, that in the evening of that day in which the gallant general Ligonier risked his life and lost his liberty to save both the army and his royal general, the French king, to whom he was presented, received him with all the regard due to his rank and merit. He asked him [67] in a most condescending style and manner, when he might hope to obtain peace from his sovereign, and ordered his generals to enter into conference with him upon the subject. The terms proposed were by no means dictated by an enemy flushed with success and the spirit of conquest: they were moderate, and more favorable than those that were accepted at Aix-la-Chapelle. But the new ministers in Holland, and the cabinet at St. James's, thought proper, notwithstanding lord Chesterfield's intreaties, to refer the articles to the congress, for the same reason, says his apologist, that mysterious points of faith are referred to general councils, to be frittered away in squabbles without end,

The

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The stadtholder's cabinet was divided. The moderate wished that his establishment might be the work of leisure and tranquillity; the more zealous were desirous to avail themselves of the present ferment, fears, and distress, to increase his power. This last party prevailed. To spirit up our ministers, and impede the opening of the congress, count Bentinck and his brother were deputed to London. The state of their country did not seem to alarm them; they were sanguine in their hopes, and lavish in their offers. Neither did the siege of Bergen-op-zoom, or the unaccountable taking of it, alter their sentiments, or at least their expressions. It seems doubtful, whether the loss of that important fortress was not much and purposely over-rated by the anti-republican party, as it furnished a pretence for settling of the stadtholdership in the female line of the Orange family, for taking from the magistrates the disposal of city employments, and for annexing to the State the revenue of the posts, which hitherto had been in private hands.

Lord Chesterfield's pacific dispositions were so well known [68], that the deputies did not chuse to explain themselves with him about the real object of their mission. Zealous as he was for the restoration of the stadtholder to the dignity of his ancestors, he thought the decisive moment had been lost, and that the miscarriages of the state might bring on a new revolution less to his advantage than the former. The prince's authority seemed to him sufficiently established if peace were once made. He conceived, that in that case the stadtholder would have influence enough to carry any constitutional point, that no wise prince ought to wish for more, and that a further increase of power ought not to be sought for at the hazard of ruining the state. The fate
both

1747.

both of the republic and of Great Britain, he said, was now at stake, and he saw no prospect of either better cards or better play next year, than the ministers had had in this [69].

Among the reasons which prudent people had to be alarmed at the present situation of the Dutch, the low state of their finances was not the least. Holland alone was supposed to be indebted about forty millions sterling, a prodigious sum for so small a country. The decay of the commerce and manufactures, together with the discouragement of the inhabitants, the high taxes, and the mode of levying them, afforded but an indifferent prospect for raising such sums as might be required for the defence of the state. The extraordinary demand for money, however, pointed out an extraordinary mode of taxation. This was called a free gift; but might rather be termed a contribution laid upon the inhabitants, in proportion to their fortunes. Those who possessed two hundred pounds or upwards were rated at two *per cent.* of their estate; one *per cent.* was expected from those who were worth between one and two hundred; and the poorer sort were left at liberty to give what they pleased, provided they gave something. Every one was ordered to come to the *stadthouse*, and bring with him the amount of what he was to pay, in cash, notes, or plate, and after taking an oath that he had made the estimation of his estate to the best of his knowledge, he threw, without being seen, what he had brought into a locked trunk, through a slit provided for the purpose. This mode of taxation first took place in Holland, but was afterwards adopted by the other provinces, and even extended to the Dutch colonies in the East and West Indies [70].

Lord

Lord Chesterfield, who, it must be owned, was rather inclined to despondency on many occasions, entertained a very indifferent opinion of this method of raising a supply. He did not think that the produce would any way be equal to the expectations of the state, and much less to its wants [71]. In this last article he certainly was right; but he undervalued the readiness of the Dutch to throw in their mite for the preservation of their country, and their honesty in doing it faithfully. There never was any suspicion but that the oath was as conscientiously observed as it was cheerfully taken [72]; and though the whole produce has never been known, it certainly amounted to a very considerable sum, and was by some conjectured to have been no less than five millions sterling.

1747.

The money thus collected was intended in part to pay for the troops that were to be employed next year. A most extraordinary army was to be formed, consisting of 132,000 men; *viz.* Austrians 66,000 in British pay, and as many at the expence of the Dutch. Experience, however, had so well convinced lord Chesterfield of the fallacy of the accounts for the preceding years, that he by no means trusted to this. He foresaw that the greater part of these troops would never reach the scene of action; or at least that they would not come till the French had stricken another, and perhaps a decisive, blow.

The only measure that the earl approved of, was the negociation with Russia; but this measure, to have had its effect, should have been concluded long before the end of the year. The best part of it, on the contrary, was consumed in altercations with the Dutch about their proportion of the charge; and when they, at the instigation of the prince of Orange, had consented to the
terms

1747.

terms proposed in England, and appeared pressing to have the treaty concluded, the British cabinet were still undetermined, and did not conclude till the middle of November. Neither could lord Chesterfield prevail to have these troops conveyed by sea, which would have been a great saving both of the expence and time. They began a tedious march of two thousand leagues in the winter, and, with the utmost diligence, could not possibly have arrived till the campaign was over.

This negociation, however, greatly alarmed the French. Their defeats at sea, the destruction of their naval strength, the decay of their manufactures and commerce, the distress and danger of their colonies, the misery which began to rage in the internal parts of the kingdom, induced them to wish to terminate a war which, however glorious, was much more detrimental to them than to their enemies [73]. The terms were short; nothing for France, and very little for their allies [74]. Our earl did not fail to use his endeavours to induce his colleagues not to let slip this opportunity. He insisted, “that they
“were never to hope for better terms; that, though
“Holland should at last incline to co-operate in ear-
“nest, they had demurred till this nation was ex-
“hausted; that, for his part, he had undertaken
“to assist in carrying on the war only for one cam-
“paign, or till either France or Spain should be
“brought to reason; and that he would take care to
“be no longer answerable for the issue of a mea-
“sure which he had never approved.” The answer was, “that a separate peace with Spain was not to
“be wished; and that, if the two crowns were once
“separated, the breach would never be closed; and
“that a minister’s conduct ought not to regard
“months and sessions, but all futurity [75].” A noble language

language if it had been properly supported; but ill suited to a leader without plan either for peace or war, and, as our noble lord expressed it, always at the top or bottom of the house, and never in the middle floor.

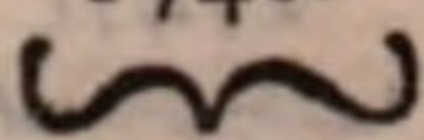
1747.

A separate negociation with Spain had in truth been carried on for some time; but with the same want of design, expedition, and perseverance. Nothing could be more favourable than the present circumstance. The French king of Spain was dead; the queen had lost her influence, and the new monarch, who was not her son, seemed inclined to give peace to his country. The marquis de Tabernega, a Spanish nobleman exiled from his country, though a sort of favorite with the present king, having taken up his residence at London, assumed to himself the conduct of this negociation. He amused the ministers with vain hopes, and was himself amused with insignificant informations from his country. This reciprocal amusement became more serious, when Mr. Wall [76], an Irish gentleman, employed as major general in the Spanish service, came over furnished with proper powers to open a treaty. He was desired to confer upon that matter with the marquis, and it was a remarkable circumstance that as a British-born subject was employed to negotiate the interests of Spain at the British court, a native Spaniard was employed by that court to negotiate the interest of Great Britain. Their conferences were fruitless, and those who knew the ascendancy which the Sardinian minister had acquired, were not surprised that no conditions could be accepted, but with his and his master's approbation [77].

Then it was that lord Chesterfield, having attempted in vain by a masterly memorial, in which he painted

1748.

1748.



painted in true colours the state of Europe and of his own country, to open the eyes of the council, and finding that he could engage but one of the members to side with him, thought fit to retire. He had given hints of this design in several letters to his intimate friend Mr. Dayrolles; but did not declare to him before the 26th of January his final resolution, which he executed on the 6th of the following month.

During this interval, it still fell to his lot to do service to his country: for though the power was lodged in other hands, the active part of office, at least that which required parts and dexterity, was commonly left to him. In the beginning of the year, he answered an artful memorial, given in by the Prussian minister in the name of his master, to claim for his flag and ships an exemption of search and other privileges, granted to particular powers, but never by treaty to that of Prussia. Lord Chesterfield's reply united all the precision of argument, and firmness for the honor of the crown, to the personal regard which he thought due to the Prussian monarch, and always expressed for him. He was the adviser of the new efforts that were made to induce that prince to take part with his natural allies; and his last work was to draw up the instructions, which were given to Mr. Legge, who on the second of February was appointed envoy to the court of Berlin [78].

The audience which lord Chesterfield had of his majesty on resigning the seals, passed in a very different way from that which he had four years before when he took leave on setting out for his embassy. The king urged him to retain his office, and expressed his satisfaction of the manner in which he had filled it. His lordship's answer was, that he found he could be but an useless servant, and that his honor and conscience

conscience did not permit him to continue in a post, in which he had not been suffered to do any one service to any one man; and in which his master himself was not at liberty to distinguish those who had his service most at heart. The monarch was not offended at this freedom. He even offered to give him personal marks of his satisfaction either by a pension or the title of duke. These offers were declined, and only one of the places at the board of admiralty for his brother John Stanhope accepted [79]. In return he begged leave to assure his majesty, that though he ceased now to be in his immediate service, he would never cease to give him proofs of his respectful attachment, and, reserving to himself the liberty of giving his vote on national points as his reason should direct him, he would keep himself entirely clear of cabals and opposition. The part, he added, I shall take upon any question, shall only be known in parliament. The situation of the subject at that instant appears more to be envied, than that of the monarch.

Having thus conducted the earl to the period of his retreat, we should here close this section; but as the measures consequent upon his resignation evidently proved both the propriety of that step, and the justness of his lordship's predictions, it may not be thought improper to extend this part to the conclusion of the peace.

The necessity of making one on the best terms soon appeared, by the unprovided condition in which the states were left. One of the prince of Orange's ministers, who last year had been so sanguine in representing that the republic was in no danger, now came over on purpose to contradict the former reports. He owned that it was impossible the republic should withstand the efforts of their enemy without

1748.

out extraordinary assistance, and Marshal Saxe made that circumstance still more evident by his unexpected enterprize on Maestricht. The king, finding the language of his allies so materially and so suddenly altered, could not help saying, *Chesterfield told me six months ago that it would be so* [80].

If our earl's prophecies shewed the necessity of a peace, his resignation at last inspired his former colleague and his successor the duke of Bedford with the desire of accepting it. Three days only after his resignation, the British plenipotentiary, who had been sent to Aix-la-chapelle with orders to procrastinate, received new instructions to lose no time in signing the preliminary articles.

It was a very fortunate circumstance that his most Christian majesty still continued in his pacific dispositions. The consideration of the distressed state of his kingdom, concurred with his love of ease to make him weary of war. His ministers accommodated their politics to his wishes; and as they did not much rise in their demands, the English ambassador seized the critical instant, and restored peace to Europe.

This fortunate event saved one state from destruction, the other perhaps from bankruptcy. It maintained the stadtholder in his dignity, and secured some ministers from the consequences of their delusion. Let me add, that it likewise exempted our earl from signing articles somewhat less advantageous than those he would have obtained the year before, and from setting his name to the only ignominious circumstance with which the treaty was laden.

SECTION



Massard sc.

SECTION VI.

LORD Chesterfield's resignation, at a time ^{1748.} of life, when he could still have rendered essential services to his country, might have been considered as the effect of sudden passion, or as an artful attempt at full power, had not the state of his mind as well as that of his body required ease and tranquillity. The frequent attacks of giddiness he lately had been seized with, made rest and quiet necessary for him; and his extreme delicate way of thinking confirmed him in the resolution of indulging himself with them. He found, that ministers are frequently obliged from political reasons to prefer the most unworthy persons to those who are the most worthy; and to prostitute to importunity and undeserving greediness the rewards of merit. He therefore determined to renounce the pursuits of ambition, and, though still upon the watch to serve his country, to live for himself, and to divide his time between social pleasures, paternal cares, and mental enjoyments. Nor does it appear, that he was on any occasion tempted to venture again his frail vessel upon that boisterous sea, from which after having been long tossed about, he now found himself securely arrived in port. To put some interval between life

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1748. and death was always the wish of the wife; and
happy are those who are able to do it.

But this philosophical retirement which lord Chesterfield proposed to himself, and in which he passed the last five and twenty years of his life, at the same time that it attracts the admiration of the thinking part of mankind, and may perhaps, excite the envy of those who have it not in their power to embrace it, affords much less matter of entertainment. Our earl's life now ceases to be connected with the history of his country; and, though we shall still keep to the form of annals we have adopted, we shall content ourselves with placing under the several years such unconnected facts as are come to our knowledge, and may be interesting to our readers.

We think ourselves obliged to mention, not without much concern, that the very day lord Chesterfield had farewell to the cares of administration, he renewed his evening visits at White's [1], which had been interrupted for four years. He likewise made a short excursion to Bath, not so much on account of the waters, as to avoid being in London while he was the chief subject of conversation.

For some time lord Chesterfield had turned his thoughts towards the part he intended to act, which was, according to the expression he borrowed from Tully, to enjoy ease with dignity. The building a house for himself, in which he wished to unite magnificence with convenience and taste, had occupied his thoughts for some time; and we see in most of his letters to his friends how much he had it at heart. He succeeded in it to his wish, and was particularly pleased with the two apartments he most frequented; the one being a kind of private room
or

or parlour, which he called his *boudoir*, ornamented with great elegance and richness; the other, his library [2], stocked with a noble collection of books, and adorned with the portraits of several of the most eminent authors. 1748.

This new house not being quite finished, and that which he was going to quit being stripped of some of its furniture [3], lord Chesterfield spent part of the summer in excursions into the country. He passed some time at Cheltenham, and afterwards at Bath, for the sake of his health; and visited with uncommon pleasure his friend lord Pembroke's house at Wilton. He found it so much improved, that he scarce knew it again; and, in its present state, judged it the finest seat in England [4].

But while he was thus amusing himself, he had the misfortune to lose his brother John Stanhope, who died of the gout towards the latter end of the year, and was sincerely regretted by the earl. His affairs, which were somewhat embarrassed, and the family arrangements necessary to be taken on this melancholy occasion, required lord Chesterfield's presence in London, and prevented him from executing his plan of spending some time at Paris [5].

Among other effects, Mr. Stanhope left a villa at Blackheath, upon which he had laid out considerable sums of money. The lease of this villa was for seven years, and could not have been disposed of without great loss. This induced the earl to keep it; and though he would rather have preferred a house in the country towards Richmond, yet he soon grew enamoured with this charming spot. The situation was delightful; commanding one way an extensive prospect over the Thames towards London and Hampstead;

1748. stead; and adjoining on the other side to Greenwich Park, into which he had a private door from his own garden.

He therefore bought it, added much to its conveniencies by the galleries and other improvements he made to it, and rendered it a country residence entirely fit for his situation and state. He constantly retired there, as soon as the season permitted him to quit his winter habitation; and it was to him, in every respect, what *Tusculum* was to Tully.

1749. One of the tastes which he contracted in this retirement was that of gardening. He did not indeed attend particularly to ornament; nor to the more improving art of raising exotic plants, and uniting in one spot the productions of different climates: for neither of these had he sufficient room, or inclination. But the cultivation of fruit-trees afforded him an useful as well as agreeable amusement; and he succeeded in it so well, that he was generally provided with most excellent productions of all kinds from his own ground. He even challenged his friends, both at home and abroad, to produce melons and pine-apples equal to his in taste and flavour [6.]

The decoration of his house engaged also much of his attention; and, in order to compleat it, he had long been in search of original paintings. In this pursuit he was not so anxious with regard to the number as to the quality of the pictures, and his chief view was to have nothing but what was excellent. He wished not so much to have many pieces of the same master, as to possess a few capital ones of the best. He did not at first trust to his own judgment, but relied chiefly upon the taste of those who were esteemed connoisseurs in the art of painting. Sir Luke Schaub

Schaub was one of the principal. That gentle- 1749.
 man, a native of Switzerland, and employed in
 very important negociations in Europe by the
 English court, had distinguished himself for his
 knowledge of the works of the most eminent
 painters, and had formed a collection scarce in-
 ferior to any in this country. Lord Chesterfield
 was extremely intimate with him, and could de-
 pend on his opinion; as he also could upon that
 of Mr. Harenc, a French gentleman of distinc-
 tion, who, to enjoy the free exercise of the Pro-
 testant religion in which he was bred, had retired
 from Paris with a considerable fortune, and settled
 in England. This gentleman cultivated every
 object of taste, and united in his person the man
 of breeding and of letters, the poet and the wit.
 He was no less skilled in music, and was univer-
 sally esteemed the best performer on the violin
 among gentlemen. His judgment in pictures
 was likewise generally acknowledged. He was
 lord Chesterfield's particular friend: and indeed
 how could he be otherwise, considering the va-
 riety of his talents, and his neighbourhood to his
 lordship at Blackheath? The earl availed himself
 much of his judgment and taste, and gradually
 acquired a considerable share of knowledge,
 which however he always declined making a
 shew of, rather chusing to quote his authority in
 the opinion he gave of his pictures [7].

These were lord Chesterfield's amusements.
 But his principal care and employment was his
 correspondence with his son. He had spent two
 years at the Swiss and German universities of
 Laufanne and Leipzig; and besides having ac-
 quired a considerable proficiency in the Latin
 and Greek languages, had been trained up to
 the knowledge of the laws of nations, the con-
 stitutions of the Germanic body, the interests,
 forces,

1749.

forces, and negotiations, of the several princes, and in general in every kind of science the most useful for a man designed for public employments; and was now beginning his travels, in order to acquire the more difficult knowledge of the world. In that, it seems, he had made but little progress, under the learned Mr. Bochat at Lausanne, and the still more learned professor Mascow at Leipzig. The excursions he made to Dresden in vacation time, had indeed made him acquainted with one of the politest courts of Europe; and the encouraging reception he there met with from Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, envoy at that court, and lord Chesterfield's affectionate as well as witty friend [8], might have effectually rubbed off that learned rust, which his father was so fearful he would too long retain. But he did not stay there long enough to be much benefited either by his conversation or example [9]. His short visit to the court of Berlin procured him a most gracious reception from the monarch [10]; and great civilities from Algarotti, Dargens, Cagnoni, Maupertuis, and the other wits whom that prince had chosen for his friends. But even lord Chesterfield did not recommend to him, at that time, and in that place, any other study except that of the civil, military, and ecclesiastical government of that country, and especially of the reformation in the laws introduced by a prince, whom he held out to him as most deserving of his attentive observation [11]. Much less could the court of Vienna, during his short stay there, improve his manners, or put him in possession of the graces. Neither is Italy any longer their seat; though perhaps still the principal school of the arts. But of these lord Chesterfield esteemed only painting and sculpture, and dreaded above all things for his son the dangerous allurements of music

music [12]. Turin was the place where he intended he should pursue his studies, and be initiated in the world. But a dangerous attack of an inflammation of the lungs, which seized Mr. Stanhope at a place called Laubach, in his passage through the Tyrolese, obstructed his course. Venice, Rome, and Naples, were, on account of the climate, substituted to Turin. In these elegant cities he certainly improved his taste, and obtained a competent knowledge of the Italian tongue. The strong recommendations he had to persons eminently qualified to form both his heart and his manners, opened to him the best schools of improvement. But yet it is to be feared, that the company of his countrymen, the first acquaintance with a sex too powerful to be resisted, and above all the relaxing effect of the most enchanting climate, rendered Venice, but especially Rome and Naples, no less noxious to our young man's habit, both of body and mind, than Capua was to Hannibal's army. 1749.

Lord Chesterfield, indeed, was sufficiently sensible of the dangerous ground his son trod upon, when he entered the Pope's dominions. As if he had been possessed of Gyges's ring, with which he so earnestly wished to accompany him invisibly, his genius hovered over him, and constantly suggested the expedients he thought most proper to preserve him from contagion. Accordingly we observe him in an admirable letter, written at the beginning of this year, giving him the most judicious and earnest cautions against the impressions of irreligion and immorality [13]. He treated these subjects, indeed, rather as a man of the world, than as a divine, trusting for the rest to the private instructions of Mr. Harte. 1750.

It

1750.

It would be unjust to suspect, that his guide neglected any thing in his power to ground his pupil in the principles of morality and virtue ; as he had effectually infused into him a sufficient quantity of classical and other learning. But it was impossible he should succeed in finishing the polish of his education in the manner lord Chesterfield wished ; and it is matter of astonishment, that the earl should not have perceived, how much the tutor's example must have defeated his precepts. The three principal articles he recommended to his son, were, his appearance, his elocution, and his style. Mr. Harte, long accustomed to a college life, was too awkward both in his person and address to be able to familiarize the graces with his young pupil. An unhappy impediment in his speech, joined to his total want of ear, rendered him equally unfit to perceive as to correct any defects of pronunciation ; a careful attention to which was so strongly recommended in all lord Chesterfield's letters, as absolutely necessary for an orator. Nor was the pen of his young ward likely to be improved by that of a man, whose chief work, though professed to be written in English, *was*, to borrow lord Chesterfield's expression, *full of Latinisms, Gallicisms, Germanisms, and all isms, but Anglicisms* [14].

It is really difficult to conceive by what infatuation lord Chesterfield must have been led in his choice of a guide, so evidently calculated to counteract the refined plan of education he had proposed for his son. And it is a matter of surprise, that his lordship did not apply what he said of the graces, *senza che ogni fatica e vana*, to example, which might have been done with equal propriety [15]. He recommended, indeed, to his son the imitation of a most accomplished
French

French nobleman then ambaffador at Rome [16], and at whose house young Stanhope might have been much improved; but in this, as in other things, the earl was difappointed in his wifhes. 1750.

The fame favourable reception, which lord Chefterfield had procured for his fon in the different countries he paffed through, he himfelf gave to all foreigners properly introduced to him, efpecially when they were perfons of genius and merit. This was particularly the cafe with Mad. Du Bocage, who on a vifit to England, in company with her hufband, and abbé Guaſco, an intimate and very learned friend of the prefident Montesquieu, met with all thoſe marks of polite attention from our earl, the practice of which he ſo much recommended to his fon. He was not only her introducer and her guide throughout London; but alfo procured her, by his letters to Mr. Dayrolles and to Mr. de Kreuningen at the Hague, the ſame advantages in Holland.

Her letters [17] testify the impreſſion which this friendly and engaging politeneſs had made upon her; and lord Chefterfield's answers to her are a remarkable ſpecimen of his atticifm in a language not his own, as well as of his refined wit [18]. He modeſtly refuſed her his own buſt; but ſent her in lieu of it thoſe of Milton, Dryden, and Pope, the originals he thought her ſo well qualified to copy.

Mr. Stanhope, in return, upon his arrival at Paris, met with a moſt hofpitable reception from her, as well as from many families of the firſt rank, not leſs diſtinguiſhed by their virtues, than by their amiable manners and wit. Thoſe who had been his father's friends in that city, and continued his correſpondents, took upon them the

1751. the charge of introducing him into the best companies, and of being the directors of his youth. Mr. Harte had now quitted him, having returned to England to enjoy the reward of his services [19]; and it is to be feared, that, being now left to himself, he took a delight in frequenting those persons with whom he thought himself perhaps more at liberty, than with those accomplished foreigners whom he should have studied to imitate.

Lady Hervey, who was then residing at Paris, and several ladies of the highest rank in France, were the principal guides to whom lord Chesterfield trusted for the finishing of his son's education. They could not but be sensible that the last varnish was wanting, and even that some defects remained in his character inconsistent with good breeding, and perhaps with good manners. A father so desirous that his son should answer in every respect the model of perfection he had sketched out to himself, must have been exceedingly mortified at this circumstance; and the fertility of his genius in expedients to endeavour to inspire his son with the desire of pleasing, is not any where more conspicuous than in this part of his letters [20]. Finding the disorder obstinate, he had recourse to more desperate remedies; as empirics too frequently administer poison in their vain attempts to subdue unconquerable maladies, or to cure diseases, less dangerous than those which their inconsiderate practice entails upon their patients.

Far be it from me to endeavour to conceal or excuse these luxuriances of a warm imagination. Vice can at no time, and under no pretence, become any part of a rational education; nor would be sufficient to say, that the manners of great cities,

cities, especially Paris, have in some degree au-^{1751.}
thorized polite gallantry. In vain also would it
be urged, that lord Chesterfield, knowing per-
haps by his own experience with how much dif-
ficulty certain passions are resisted in youth, might
have thought there was no other choice but that
of coarse debauchery and sentimental engage-
ments; that, when mutual liberty is allowed in
what is called at Paris the married state, chastity
can no more be expected on one side, than fidelity
is on the other; and that the crime of corruption
cannot be charged where general depravity pre-
vails. We shall not rest the defence of the earl
on such weak foundations: drawing a veil there-
fore on this part of lord Chesterfield's conduct,
which was not intended, and ought not to have
been exposed to the public eye, we shall content
ourselves with deploring the weakness of human
nature, which hitherto never admitted of perfec-
tion.

Lord Chesterfield's advice in regard to dissimula-
tion might perhaps admit of a more plausible vin-
dication. He certainly distinguishes it always from
simulation, or any degree of falshood at least in
words, and seems to make it consist principally
in a necessary condescension to the foibles of
those with whom our connections or duties oblige
us to live. If he goes somewhat further, and ad-
vises to conceal our secret feelings, and endea-
vour to excite as well as watch those of the per-
sons whom we are called upon by the interests of
our country to deal with, and who certainly
would take the same advantage over us that we
wish to have over them; he would be justified,
if not by the precepts of moralists, at least by
the examples of most, or perhaps of all courtiers
and ministers. But it must be candidly owned
that

1751. that these distinctions are too nice for the practice of mankind. He who constantly walks on the edge of a precipice will scarce avoid falling into it; and it is evident that every thing which goes beyond silence and simple observation, can never be authorized.

Let us therefore hasten to quit this tender ground; and sincerely wishing that lord Chesterfield had lived to publish his own letters, which would have given him an opportunity of expunging some obnoxious passages; let us be allowed to say that these transient errors (for they are all confined to a period of three or four years) took their rise from the strong desire he had of making his son master of those qualities it seemed most difficult for him to acquire, and of training him up to be a complete public man and a consummate politician. Had he been satisfied with fitting him for the middle station of life, he would neither have had the temptation nor the desire of having recourse to these dangerous expedients. Fond parents would spare themselves much anxiety and chagrin, if the mode of education were suited to the different dispositions observable in the child at different times, rather than that the child should be obliged to conform to a settled plan.

The death of the prince of Wales, which happened this year, deprived lord Chesterfield of a friend, who, perhaps, had he lived to ascend the throne, would have conferred upon the son those favours he formerly intended for the father. This unexpected event obliged him to turn his thoughts another way. He appears, from some of his letters, to have been desirous of introducing his son into the family of the young prince of Wales, which was established soon after. I have been informed, that

that there had been some thoughts of appointing 1751.
 our earl governor to the young prince; and I am
 authorized by some respectable friends to say,
 that, notwithstanding some representations, he
 would have been prevailed upon to accept of this
 employment. I am not equally well informed
 what was the reason that this event never took
 place, and that he did not succeed in procuring an
 establishment for his son in the young prince's
 household. Perhaps the illegitimacy of his birth
 may have had some share in this disappointment;
 as it certainly had in the failure of another solici-
 tation [21].

Lord Chesterfield, who always had the honour,
 as well as the advantage, of his country in view,
 had long deplored that Great Britain should be
 almost the last of all the European powers which
 still persisted in the use of the defective Julian
 calendar. Neither the scruples which it occasion-
 ed among zealous churchmen concerning the true
 time of the principal anniversary festivals, nor
 even its considerable and increasing disagreement
 from the heavenly bodies (a circumstance, on ac-
 count of the slowness of its progression, percepti-
 ble only to astronomers), were, perhaps, the chief
 motives that induced lord Chesterfield to wish for
 a reformation: but he was more particularly dis-
 posed to encourage it from the confusion which
 the different beginnings of the year might pro-
 duce in settling historical transactions, and the
 variance there was in the accounts of almost every
 other state. The inconveniencies were evident;
 but the difficulty of obviating several inconveni-
 encies attending a sudden alteration, and espe-
 cially in overcoming people's prejudices, were not
 less so. These difficulties he found still more con-
 siderable than he imagined. Having consulted
 the duke of Newcastle; that minister, then in
 the

1751. the zenith of his power, seemed alarmed at so bold an undertaking. He conjured the earl not to *stir matters*, that had long been quiet, and added that he did not love *new-fangled things*. Lord Chesterfield, however, did not suffer himself to be deterred by these obstacles, but resolved to digest his plan thoroughly before he communicated it to the public. With regard to the civil and political points, he consulted persons of the greatest eminence in the several parts of the world where he maintained a correspondence. He was particularly obliged to the great chancellor Daguesseau for the most useful informations, and received from him a most instructive letter on this subject, which we regret much not to be able to give to the public. In the astronomical part, he consulted those of his countrymen who were most in repute for their knowledge in that science; and particularly the earl of Macclesfield, then president of the Royal Society, who readily entered into the plan of reforming the calendar, and furnished lord Chesterfield with all the learning that was wanted on the occasion.

Thus prepared, our earl made his motion in the house of lords, on the 25th of February of that style he wished to amend. The speech he made on that occasion was entirely calculated to captivate the attention and secure the favour of his hearers. Witty reflections upon time, its measure, though fixed in itself, still dependent on the variable motions of the celestial bodies; a concise and clear account of the several attempts made at different periods, and by different nations, to reconcile those two measures with one another; the inconveniencies attending the present style with respect to all public and private transactions; the method of obviating the difficulties arising from a sudden alteration:

alteration : these were the principal topics which he dwelt upon. He displayed such powers of oratory in this speech, and delivered it with so much grace, that he eclipsed lord Macclesfield, who seconded his motion, and in a speech, previously prepared and since printed, entered much more fully into the argumentative part of the plan. Our earl did ample justice to his learned colleague; and in his familiar letters [22], expressed himself with great modesty on this point, attributing entirely to his powers of utterance the advantage he obtained over him on this occasion. A bill so wisely contrived, and so ably supported by eloquence and reason, passed without any opposition in both houses; but those who now enjoy the advantages resulting from it, ought to be informed, that they owe them to the industry and resolution of the earl of Chesterfield. 1751.

The earl's feelings were excited, in the course of this year, by two events of a very different nature. The first was the appointment of Mr. Dayrolles to the place of minister and commissary plenipotentiary at the court and congress at Brussels; and his marriage with a lady, no less distinguished by the goodness of her heart, than by the graces and beauty of her person, and her various accomplishments. His intimate connection with a friend, whose attachment he had so long experienced, made him share his satisfaction in the liveliest manner; and his letters on this occasion are truly expressive of what his heart felt.

On the other hand, scarce any event could have been more affecting to him than the death of lord Bolingbroke. He had seen him for several months labouring under a cruel, and to appearance incurable disorder. A cancerous humour

1751. mour in his face made a daily progress; and the empirical treatment he submitted to, not only hastened his end, but also exposed him to the most excruciating pain. He saw him, for the last time, the day before his tortures began. Though the unhappy patient, as well as his friend, did then expect that he should recover, and accordingly desired him not to come again till his cure was completed; yet he still took leave of him in a manner which shewed how much he was affected. “He embraced the earl with tenderness, and said, God who placed me here, will do what he pleases with me hereafter, and he knows best what to do. May he bless you!” It would be needless to give our readers any account of the opinion the earl entertained of lord Bolingbroke. This is sufficiently expressed in the letters we now give to the public, as well as in those to his son; but it may not be improper to add, that he retained all his life a grateful remembrance of the friendship that had subsisted between them; and that he transferred it to his heir, and rejoiced in the hopes of seeing him in all respects worthy of the name he bears [23].

Hitherto lord Chesterfield's state of health, though often interrupted by fits of giddiness, had afforded him sufficient intervals, to enable him to enjoy the pleasures of retirement with his books, and those of society with his friends. The last he indulged in with peculiar satisfaction. His house and his table were open not only to the most distinguished of his countrymen, but likewise to all foreigners who had any pretensions to learning or wit. But in the first months of this year, a disorder, unhappily hereditary in his family, began to separate him from society; and that constant serenity and cheerfulness, which he had so remarkably possessed in the different periods of his life, gave way

way to intervals of melancholy and apprehensions. He felt the first symptoms of deafness with a kind of horror; not unlike that which Swift could not help shewing on the apprehension of losing his senses. This afflicting sensation was for a time increased, while being confined at home for some months on account of a fall from his horse, he submitted patiently to all the means that were employed for the cure of his deafness, first by regular physicians, and afterwards by empirics. The attempts of both proved unsuccessful; and though still equally capable of contributing to the satisfaction of his friends in society, the earl was no longer able to receive any from them. 1752.

Mr. Stanhope having now passed a year and a half at Paris, was sent by his father to several courts of Germany, and last to Mr. Dayrolles at Brussels. Lord Chesterfield was in hopes that by spending a winter with him, being introduced to that court and employed in his office, he would have had an opportunity of being thoroughly acquainted with the life of a courtier, and that of a man of business. Unfortunately, the prime minister of that court, a proud Italian [24], being informed of Mr. Stanhope's illegitimacy, insisted upon his not appearing at court. This affected the feeling heart of Mr. Dayrolles still more than that of lord Chesterfield, who controlled the warmth of his friend on that occasion, and observed to him very justly, that persons in Mr. Stanhope's situation must sometimes expect disagreeable things of that kind, and that the best use he could make of this incident, was to endeavour to counterbalance the disadvantage of his birth by superior merit and knowledge [25]. To fill up the vacancy which this disappointment occasioned, he sent him for the third time to Paris, in order to improve himself still more in the science of the world,

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1752. world, so necessary for the public life he was intended to pursue.

1753. His first setting out in that station would have been a brilliant one, could lord Chesterfield's expectations, and those of his kinsmen the Pelhams, with whom he was now on the best terms [26], have been answered. The post of resident at Venice, now vacant by the promotion of Sir James Gray to that of envoy at the court of Naples, had been proposed by them for Mr. Stanhope, and they were in hopes that his Majesty would make no difficulty in appointing him to it. Lord Chesterfield was highly pleased with the prospect of his son's being fixed in such a city, where from the variety of travellers of different nations who resort thither, he might have acquired that desire of pleasing, which was the only thing he then seemed to want. His disappointment was therefore great, when after eight months solicitation, the king at last absolutely refused to appoint the young man, alledging the circumstance of his birth as the reason. His father, though much hurt at the refusal of a favour by no means unprecedented, resolved to bring him into the next parliament, wisely foreseeing that a senatorial cloak, more extensive still than that of charity, would cover his son's involuntary sin.

In the retirement where lord Chesterfield now spent by choice the best part of the year, and where, having fewer opportunities to exercise his sense of hearing, he sometimes forgot he had lost it, his books, his garden, and his pen, contributed to fill up his time. From his correspondents he received most of the new productions in the literary way, and repaid them by the judgments he passed upon them. The care of his vegetables also

also took up much of his attention. But it was chiefly his pen which agreeably and usefully employed his vacant hours. Willing to contribute as much as possible to the advantage of his country, though now in a great measure isolated from it, he amused himself with the composition of moral and literary essays. These he sent to the editor of a new periodical paper entitled *The World*. But the first essay he sent had nearly disgusted him of writing any more; for being somewhat long it was neglected, and might perhaps never have been printed, if lord Lyttelton coming accidentally into the publisher's shop, and being shewn this paper, had not instantly recognised the masterly hand of his former associate and friend, and desired that it might be immediately put to the press. The reception it met with encouraged him to go on, and he continued to furnish occasional papers from that year to 1756, when this publication ceased. One of the volumes was by the ingenious editor dedicated to his lordship.

His son, whom he had now sent for from Paris, was examined by him with the same attention as he had been in his preceding visit. He found him improved in his figure, manners, and address; but still thought him far from being the graceful, sociable, amiable man he wished him to be [27]. With a view to correct his carelessness and inattention, as soon as he had lost all hopes of the residentship, he sent him first to Holland, and then to some courts of Germany. The formal etiquette of these courts he thought would engage him to pay a stricter regard to those little duties of society which he had hitherto too much neglected; as he was not likely to meet with many of his countrymen at these courts, he hoped the chief obstacles which had obstructed his im-

1753. provement would now be removed [28]. He also took great care to direct his son to the particular objects proper for his attention at these different places, and the knowledge of which was necessary to prevent his appearing a stranger in them.

Though lord Chesterfield now took but little share in political transactions, or parliamentary debates, yet was he far from being indifferent to either. To his friends he communicated his thoughts concerning public affairs with the utmost freedom, and the interest of his country was the chief object of his anxious cares. Indeed, when he reflected on his own situation, precluded by his deafness from one of the best means of information, he could not help laughing at his own weakness. "This political excursion," says he in one of his letters, "which is the remains of the man of business, puts me in mind of Harlequin's making several passes against the wall *par un reste de bravoure* [29]."

The circumstances which appeared to him the most open to censure in the present administration, were the want of foresight, and the irresolution of the councils. On these accounts he was much displeased with the repeal of the bill for the naturalization of the Jews, which he reproached the ministry with having weakly given up. A spirit of divination seems to have animated his pen, when, after having quoted a very true maxim of his favourite author the Cardinal de Retz on this occasion, that mobs are always kept in awe by those who do not fear them, he adds, "that they grow unreasonable and insolent when they find that they are feared. Wise and able governors," says he, "will never, if they can help
" it,

“ it, give the people just cause to complain, but
“ then on the other hand they will firmly with-
“ stand groundless clamour [30]. ”

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The source of this clamour he principally dis-
liked; “ being that narrow mob-spirit of intole-
“ ration in religious, and inhospitality in civil
“ matters, both which, all governments should
“ oppose.” A very contrary spirit breathes in-
deed in all our earl’s writings; it is the spirit of
humanity, comprehensive benevolence, and true
liberty, very different from lawless licentiousness.
With what honest warmth does he not reprobate
the “ contempt which most historians shew for
“ humanity in general, as if the whole human
“ species consisted but of about one hundred and
“ fifty people, called and dignified (commonly ve-
“ ry undeservedly too), by the titles of emperors,
“ kings, popes, generals, and ministers [31]?”

What patriot would not join with him, when after
having spoken of the liberty the Turkish janissar-
ies sometimes take of strangling their vizir, or
their emperor, he adds; “ I am glad the capital
“ strangler should in his turn be strangleable;
“ for I know of no brute so fierce, nor no crimi-
“ nal so guilty, as the creature called a sovereign,
“ whether king, sultan, or sophi, who thinks
“ himself either by divine or human right vested
“ with an absolute power of destroying his fel-
“ low creatures; or who, without inquiring into
“ his right, lawlessly exerts that power [32]?”

What good man would not applaud him, when
on account of the divisions in France between the
parliament and clergy, he so strongly enforces the
subjection of the church in every country to the
supreme legislative power, and warmly recom-
mends to his son the reading of the tracts of that
great champion, I had almost said martyr, in the
cause

1753. cause of civil liberty, Fra-Paolo, and in particular his treatise De beneficiis [33]?

1745. The obstinacy of lord Chesterfield's deafness, which increased every day, and disqualified him more and more for society, had induced him to yield to the repeated advice of the faculty to try whether any benefit could be obtained from a journey to Spa. He was confirmed in this resolution by a very severe fit of a gouty rheumatism, which at the same time that it exercised his patience for two or three months in the beginning of this year, gave his physicians and himself some hopes, that the waters might at least in some measure relieve his deafness, which they attributed to the same cause. It does not appear, however, that his rheumatic disorder was the only circumstance that induced him to undertake this journey to Spa, for he had mentioned two months before to his son, that he would probably meet him at that place [34]. He accordingly appointed the time of their meeting; and having entire leisure there, employed it in giving him just notions of the English constitution, and of the part which he would soon be called to bear in the service of the state. No man was certainly more capable of delivering those instructions in a more captivating or rational manner, and to those who would have assisted at these lectures, it would have recalled to mind Pericles, training up young Alcibiades.

Lord Chesterfield having accomplished the time fixed for his residence at Spa, which he now thought a painful task, returned with all possible diligence to London and his villa. He presently found that the small benefit he derived from the waters was but temporary, and soon after had severe returns of the complaint for which he had undertaken this expedition.

Mr.

Mr. Bougainville, the same gentleman who has since distinguished himself so much among the French, and who was not only a man of science, but also of taste and wit, had been recommended to lord Chesterfield [35]. He was surprized to find in that nobleman such a variety of knowledge, and such a thorough acquaintance with the French language, manners, and literature. As he was brother to the secretary of the academy of inscriptions and belles lettres at Paris, he suggested to him the idea of electing lord Chesterfield one of their foreign members. The proposal was first intimated to his lordship, and upon his acceptance the appointment was made, and a letter was written to him in the name of that learned body. This drew from him a letter of thanks, which he communicated to me in English, and for the translation of which he did me the honour to borrow my pen [36].

His son had now got a seat in parliament, and the father equally anxious for his success took infinite pains to prepare him for his first appearance as a speaker. The young man seems to have succeeded tolerably well upon the whole, but on account of his shyness was obliged to stop, and, if I am not mistaken, to have recourse to his notes. Lord Chesterfield used every argument in his power to comfort him, and to inspire him with confidence and courage to make some other attempt; but I have not heard that Mr. Stanhope ever spoke again in the house.

He had an opportunity next year of conferring an obligation on the court unasked and unpaid for it. A noble earl, who had expected to be appointed to the post of groom of the stole, as being the first on the list of the lords of the bed-chamber [37], thought proper to resign that place.

1755. place. To shew his displeasure, late in the season and at a time when the arrangements for the king's annual expedition to Hanover were already taken, he made a motion in the house of peers to present an address to his majesty to desire he would not leave England at a period when a new war was expected. He hinted, indeed, that these frequent voyages were inconvenient to the nation and contrary to the act of settlement. A public debate on this delicate subject would have been attended with improper reflections from the speakers on both sides of the question. Lord Chesterfield took therefore the most prudent step in moving for an adjournment, which passed without difficulty. As this circumstance must have been very agreeable to the king, many persons conjectured that our earl's views were interested, and that he expected to be appointed to some high post in the administration. But every motive of this kind he solemnly disclaimed in a very interesting letter to Mr. Dayrolles [38], which on many accounts I recommend to the perusal of my readers. I am certain, that the sentiments it contains are such as the most virtuous man would adopt.

Indeed his state of health became every day more distressing. He found himself by his increased deafness cut off from the society of mankind, and struggling against multiplied infirmities both of body and mind. He had taken with him to Blackheath all the materials necessary for writing some historical tracts of his own times, which he intended to pen with the strictest regard to truth, and none to persons, himself not excepted. But finding his mind ill disposed for such a work, he did not attempt it, well knowing, that whatever is not done with inclination and spirit, will be very ill done [39].

The preparations for a rupture with the court of France on account of America, seemed at first not very alarming to lord Chesterfield. He thought they would not attempt any diversion in Flanders, or if they did, that their force could be opposed in that quarter; or, at least, that the Dutch could be sufficiently supported to prevent their submitting to a neutrality, or accepting any other terms the French might wish to impose. Still depending upon our former alliances, and our resolution not to be parties upon the continent, he rather wished for a war, if vigorously carried on at sea, as being the best means of destroying the enemy's navy and commerce [40]. 1755.

But he soon altered his opinion when he was informed of the defection of those who had been thought England's firmest allies, and especially the house of Austria. It must be owned, that the lowness, or rather the fluctuation, of his spirits had some influence upon his opinions concerning the event of the war. His discouragements arose not more from the number of our enemies, than from the sinking spirit of the nation, and the divisions as well as the incapacity of those who presided at the helm.

In these circumstances, however, he had still a fresh opportunity of manifesting his friendly disposition to government. The subsidiary treaties with the courts of Russia and Hesse-Cassel being submitted to the consideration of parliament excited great debates in both houses. Lord Chesterfield who approved of the first as much as he disliked the second, spoke warmly, though without preparation, in defence of his opinion in the house of lords. He shone as usual, and did not seem to have lost any of his former vigour; but this exertion fatigued him so much, that he was obliged to be carried home immediately after, and

1755. and never again appeared as a speaker in the house [41].

1756. From this day, which may be looked upon as
to the close of our earl's political career, his life may
1768. be divided into two periods; the first concluding with the death of his son Mr. Stanhope, which happened in 1768; the second with his own decease, in 1773. In the former of these, the chief object of his care and attention was the improvement and promotion of Mr. Stanhope. In the latter, the care of his own health, or rather, the temporary alleviation of those infirmities, which he well knew would attend him to his grave.

The pursuits of each of these periods are diversified only by his correspondence with his friends, his amusements in his garden, and his application in his library: for though he continued to receive company, foreign as well as English, he frequently laments the little capacity he had left him by his deafness either of entertaining or being entertained by them. His memoirs, therefore, henceforward will contain little more than references to his letters, and a history of that gradual decay, the first advances of which he appears himself to have discovered above twenty years before his death.

Retired from the councils, and in a great measure from the society of the principal men in power, lord Chesterfield seems not to have pretended to any knowledge of the interior plans of government, and only hazards his conjectures on public affairs. He expresses, in many of his letters, the impossibility there is, that any person who is not in the immediate circle of business should be able to form a competent judgment in political matters; ridicules the absurdity of pretenders to that sort of knowledge;

knowledge; and offers his opinions as mere random thoughts, thrown out upon the public topic of the day. It is no wonder then, that we find his lordship, in the subsequent years, frequently mistaking in his views and expectations on the consequences of that war which was now declared: a war, which from the various, and, as it was then thought, almost unnatural combinations it produced, contradicted the whole uniform experience of our earl, as a statesman; and when seen through the gloomy medium of a distempered habit, appeared every way formidable and destructive to Great Britain. It must be acknowledged, indeed, that the miscarriage of our fleet before Mahon, and the loss of so considerable a possession as the island of Minorca, in the very outset of the war, joined to the apprehensions lord Chesterfield conceived of a secret negotiation between France and Spain to deprive us of Gibraltar, were sufficient to give him the alarm. On the other hand, it is equally certain, that the English are seldom successful in the commencement of hostilities. The lion, confiding perhaps too much in his own strength, gives way to indolence and security, till roused into action by repeated attacks of his enemies. Yet whatever dependence might reasonably have been founded on this reflection, there were other causes, which might fairly justify the apprehensions of a speculative politician. The balance of Europe seemed to be entirely destroyed. All the principal powers had thrown their weight into one scale. There remained among the crowned heads but a single ally for Great Britain, and he had been almost from his cradle her enemy. Besides, it was impossible for lord Chesterfield to conceive, that the force of the king of Prussia alone would be sufficient, in conjunction with us, to withstand the united efforts of France, Austria, the

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to

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1756 the Empire, Saxony, Russia, and Sweden [42.]
 to The wonders that monarch was equal to were
 1768. yet to be seen; and however great might be the
 idea our earl had entertained of him, it can bring
 no imputation upon his political sagacity not to
 have foreseen the miraculous exertions, of which,
 that hero shewed himself capable in the events of
 the war.

With respect to the supposed engagements between France and Spain relative to Gibraltar, though lord Chesterfield seems to have mistaken both the time and the object of them, still it must be considered, that there was great probability in the conjecture. He well knew, from his own experience, how much the pride of Spain is hurt that Great Britain should retain that important and almost impregnable fortress, the principal key of her dominions; and however her general political interests may recommend a good understanding with the English, it is probable she will never heartily unite with them, so long as that place remains in their hands. A few years after she chose to enter the lists, but in a short time found how unequal a contest she had engaged in with an enemy then in the full career of victory.

The national debt was another very alarming consideration to lord Chesterfield; but his fears in this respect were the fears of the whole nation. The multitude had always looked upon it as a prodigy big with ruin. The ablest and most enlightened statesmen had fixed the point it then stood at, as the utmost verge of safety; and all beyond was stigmatized with dark and fatal predictions. The increase of it to that enormous bulk at which it arrived before the end of the war, in the midst of the greatest national prosperity, was, in the conception of all men at that time, as
 utter

utter an impossibility as the astonishing triumphs
of our ally the king of Prussia.

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The events of 1757 and 1758 served only to confirm lord Chesterfield in his political despondency. His letters in this period to Mr. Dayrolles are all expressive of his fears and apprehensions for the event. He continued under the influence of the same impressions till the latter end of the year 1759, excepting a small interval in the beginning of the summer 1758 [43].

During the greatest part of this time, Mr. Stanhope, who had returned to England in 1754 to take his seat in parliament, continued at home. In 1757 he repaired in a public character to Hamburgh, the residence at that time of all the principal persons of those parts of the Empire, which either were, or seemed likely to be, the seat of war. His letters to his son at this conjuncture, though of a different turn from those of former periods, shew no less anxiety for his success. A very remarkable hint is conveyed in one of them, for detaching the empress of Russia from her connections with our enemies [44]; but this seems to have been too nice a commission for so young a negotiator. The immediate aim of lord Chesterfield at this time was to procure for Mr. Stanhope, either an appointment to the court of Berlin, or that he might succeed Mr. Burrish in his employment at Munich; and he omitted no opportunity of exhorting him to recommend himself, by diligence, activity, and address, to those who had it in their power to promote him. Mr. Stanhope's health, as well as other reasons, made him wish to return home for some months in the year 1758, and also in the summer 1759; but he was both times disappointed. He could not be spared from Hamburgh. However the earl might wish

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wish to see him, he looked upon this necessity of his absence as a sufficient compensation.

But Mr. Stanhope's ill state of health was such as to overcome all other considerations. Leave was asked and obtained for him to come home in Autumn 1759, and he continued in London till the end of the war.

In June 1763 we find Mr. Stanhope at the Hague, on his way to Ratibon, to which place he was sent in a public character. In this situation lord Chesterfield's experience seems to have furnished him with a very useful expedient for abridging the tedious and intricate ceremonials so much insisted upon in German courts [45]. His stay, however, was but short. In autumn he was called home by the ministry, to attend the ensuing session of parliament [46], for which they thought it necessary to collect their whole force. Lord Chesterfield, though not much pleased with this summons, recommended, agreeable to his constant maxim, a ready and obliging submission to it; and we may reasonably conclude, the earl's admonition had its intended effect: for soon after, Mr. Stanhope was appointed envoy-extraordinary to the court of Dresden, whither he repaired as soon as the session was over. From this time to the latter end of the year 1766, Mr. Stanhope continued in Germany, having at the request of the ministry, who were still hard pressed, vacated his seat in parliament soon after his arrival at Dresden. This residence appears to have completed the ruin of his constitution. His health, which in all situations was delicate, seems to have been quite overcome by the German winters. He was obliged in 1766 to have recourse first to the waters of Baden, and then to a tour into the south of France [47]. The earl, who watched perpetually

tually over him as his guardian angel, and forgot ¹⁷⁵⁶
 his own infirmities to provide against those of his ^{to}
 son, expresses great anxiety on these occasions, ^{1768.}
 and seems with difficulty to conceal some fore-
 bodings of the event. Mr. Stanhope, however,
 in the spring of 1767, either found or fancied he
 found, himself well enough to return to Dresden,
 which he accordingly did in May following: and
 his persuasion in this respect was so strong, that
 notwithstanding he was again attacked by the same
 complaint, he wrote to the earl that he thought
 himself able to pass the winter at that court. His
 lordship seems to have been so much influenced by
 this declaration, that he was taking measures for
 securing him a seat in the next parliament, which
 was to be chosen in 1768. In this view his lord-
 ship was disappointed by the minister on whom
 he had placed his dependence [48]; but this dis-
 appointment he had not occasion long to regret.
 Mr. Stanhope, notwithstanding his sanguine ex-
 pectations, was obliged to quit Dresden, and re-
 pair again to the South of France, from whence
 he never returned. During his illness there, he
 seems to have expressed some jealousy at his place
 being supplied by a new person during his absence.
 Lord Chesterfield makes him easy on this head,
 by acquainting him that he had received assurances
 from the ministry, that person should not inter-
 fere with him as soon as he was capable of resum-
 ing his employment [49]. The gentleman
 here alluded to was shortly after appointed envoy
 to Denmark, where, by a very spirited and judi-
 cious exertion upon a melancholy occasion, he
 merited the honour of a red ribband, and an ap-
 pointment to a much superior court [50].

The last letter lord Chesterfield wrote to his be-
 loved son is dated the 17th of October, 1768. It
 is full of the most tender anxiety for his welfare,
 and

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and of his alarms upon receiving information that Mr. Stanhope's complaint was of a dropfical nature. This was actually the case. Every medical assistance was tried in vain to relieve him. Mr. Stanhope died of a dropsy, at a house in the country near Avignon, on the 16th of November, 1768.

The effect of this stroke on lord Chesterfield was such as might be expected. If his lordship's age might be supposed to render him less susceptible of impressions, his infirmities made him less capable of resisting them. The state of his health was now become very critical. From the year 1756 his rheumatic complaints [51] and the giddiness in his head had been increasing; but they proceeded by slower, and, to himself at least, much more imperceptible degrees, than his deafness. The comparison he seems constantly to have made between the loss of hearing and that of sight, proves sufficiently in what unusual estimation he held the former. Every man almost knows the value of his eyes, and may from thence be taught to judge of what only the few, who are formed for the more delicate enjoyments of conversation, are capable of feeling under the calamity our earl was afflicted with. Perhaps he carried this matter rather too far, especially as his defect amounted at most only to a difficulty, not a deprivation of the sense. By his own account, all he required in order to be able to distinguish what was said, was, that the person speaking should not be at too great a distance, and that the voice should be directed in a straight line towards him. His other complaints were of a more serious nature; but even these admitted of considerable relief. The use of a milk diet, to which, after a very severe fit of illness in the beginning of the year 1759, he confined himself almost

almost entirely for some time, was of peculiar service to him. In this and the following year the general state of lord Chesterfield's health seems to have been better than he had reason to expect, yet we do not find him speaking of it with that cheerfulness which his good-humour and lively disposition would lead us to imagine. The mind when unoccupied by pursuits of pleasure, business or ambition, naturally inclines to speculation; and this, when influenced by personal infirmities, as naturally contracts a melancholy cast. It is no wonder then, that our gay and sprightly earl, whom retirement, and the solitary occupations of the library and the garden, assisted by the enemy he so much dreaded, the defect of hearing had insensibly conducted to this point, should, in speaking of his health, express himself in terms sometimes bordering upon disgust and despondency. For this reason we must not be surprised that, in some of his letters at this period, he describes himself as totally unconnected with the world, *detached from life, bearing the burthen of it with patience from instinct rather than reason, and from that principle alone, taking all proper methods to preserve it* [52]. It is true, he endeavours to gloss over these ideas as the result only of a philosophic habit of mind; but it requires little care in the analysing, to discover the genuine source of them. This is evident, whatever seeming moderation there may otherwise be, in the passage where he compares himself to Solomon, and exclaims with that disappointed monarch, "All is vanity and vexation of spirit [53]." There is more good humour in the resemblance he makes out between himself and the cabbages in his garden, which, in more than one of his letters, he jocosely styles his *fellow vegetables*.

There was another and more striking comparison brought home to the earl about this time. His

1756 old servant White, who had lived with him forty
 to years, was seized with a dangerous fit of illness.
 1768. His sentiments on this occasion, as expressed in his
 letter to the bishop of Waterford [54], are a very natural picture of a feeling mind under the dominion of some of the closest attachments of sympathy. The near equality of their age, the time they had passed together, the mutual decay of constitution, and the consequent doubt which of them would arrive soonest at their last stage, became matter of very interesting contemplation to the earl.

In other respects, lord Chesterfield's vivacity was uniform and undiminished. His attention to public and private transactions still the same. The earl of Halifax was in the year 1761 appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and went over to take possession of his government immediately after the coronation. The celebrated speech, with which this nobleman opened the session of the Irish parliament, is well known as a masterpiece of oratory. But it had a further recommendation to lord Chesterfield. The three great objects proposed in it were, the encouragement of the Protestant charter-schools; the improvement of the linen manufacture; and the allowing a proper indulgence to Roman Catholics [55]. These were the points lord Chesterfield had most at heart. No man, as we have already seen, knew better than he did the real interest of that country, or had pursued it with more success; the face of the whole kingdom having been changed during his wise and disinterested administration. His zeal for the welfare of Ireland, which commenced at that period, did not cease with his office. He continued to watch over it with a kind of paternal care, and rejoices in every instance, where he sees the same plan of beneficial measures promoted

promoted or improved. The establishment for encouraging Protestant charter-schools had been set on foot by the bishops of Waterford and Meath, and lord Chesterfield had subscribed towards it [56]. The promotion of Irish manufactures, particularly those of linen, is strongly recommended in several of his letters to the bishop and in those to Mr. Prior [57]. In speaking upon this point, he frequently takes occasion to deplore the too prevalent custom of hard drinking in Ireland [58]. The importation of *five thousand tuns of wine, communibus annis*, he considers as a melancholy proof of this fatal custom; and humorously adds, that *a claret-board, if there were one, would be much better attended than the linen-board* [59]. He exhorts the Irish to mind their spinning and weaving, and lay aside their politics. Mild treatment and an easy unsuspecting intercourse with the Roman Catholics had been the rule of lord Chesterfield's government, in a crisis, which might well have justified the most rigorous execution of the laws against them. It was his constant maxim, that gentle usage was the most likely means to keep them quiet, if not to gain them over; and he urged it again in the year 1757, as the best advice he could give at a period, which he esteemed little less dangerous than that of his own administration.

The expulsion of the Jesuits from France, which happened about this time, was an event of too extraordinary a nature not to attract the attention of our earl. Though they had with great ability resisted several powerful attacks, that had been made against them, yet this, he observes, appeared to be the decisive stroke; and he ventures to pronounce, that they will never recover it [60]. The subsequent history of that learned, but pernicious society, hath fully con-

1756. ^{to}
 1768. } firmed this prophecy. Their disgrace in France hath been followed by their expulsion from all parts of the world. They have been banished even from Paraguay, which might be emphatically styled the kingdom of their own creation; and where, according to the opinion of the celebrated Montesquieu, the good laws and institutions they had made, seemed to promise an eternal duration of their sway, and might be admitted as an apology for their ambition [61]. The earl seems to have carried his observation still farther on this subject, and to have extended it to the religious, as well as political, dominion of the pope; the permanence of which he seems to doubt, and gravely admonishes a lady in France, that *he trembles for the holy father himself in the next century* [62]. The seizure of a considerable part of the papal territories, within a few years after, had the appearance of anticipating considerably his lordship's prediction.

From the beginning of the year 1765, the effects of that slow and gradual progress towards dissolution, which the earl had so many years experienced, became more visible. Though he describes himself rather as gliding gently along the steep, than hurried down the precipice, yet the complaints he makes of the difficulty he finds in writing, and the intervals between his letters to the bishop of Waterford, which are the most regularly continued of any we find in this period to his friends, are sure indications of a very considerable change. It is evident, however, that his faculties were not in the least impaired; and what is extraordinary, his correspondence with his son is not less punctual, nor the intelligence he gives him of public affairs, from time to time, less interesting or less entertaining than formerly.

In this state of mind, but with a state of body very unequal to the shock, lord Chesterfield received the news of Mr. Stanhope's death: an only and most tenderly-beloved son, on whose education the utmost care and attention a fond parent is capable of had been bestowed; of whose success in life the most sanguine expectations had been formed; and for whose sake chiefly his father seemed now to support the remaining burthen of a painful and tedious existence. The affliction of itself was sufficient; but it was enhanced by another, scarce less distressing, piece of intelligence. It was announced by a lady, who took this first opportunity of acquainting the earl that she had been married to Mr. Stanhope several years, and had two children by him, which were then with her. Whatever lord Chesterfield's feelings might be at receiving this authentic information of a clandestine engagement, contracted by his son so long before, concealed with so much art and industry, and brought to light at such an instant, he did not confound the innocent with the guilty. He took upon himself the care of providing for the children, and informed Mrs. Stanhope, that she should be exonerated from the expence of their future maintenance.

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Lord Chesterfield's dearest hopes being thus defeated, he endeavoured to fill up the vacancy by an attention truly becoming his character and rank. He had in the year 1767 adopted the son of his kinsman Mr. Stanhope of Mansfield, heir to the title, but not to the estates [63]. At this advanced time of life we find him with uncommon care, and even anxiety, superintending the education of his successor; and it is remarkable, with what satisfaction he acquaints the bishop of Waterford with the early prospects of his improvement

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1773.

1769 ^{to} 1773. provement [64]. The choice he made of a person to accompany the young gentleman in his travels, and to take the care of his education, was worthy of himself [65]; and the correspondence, which, notwithstanding his infirmities, he regularly kept up with him, is an undoubted proof how much he had at heart the future lustre of the honours he bore. These letters have not yet appeared under any sanction of authority; but the principle of them is so noble, and the end proposed so becoming the dignity of a great name, that it is hoped they will not always be withheld from the public. It is plain, from a letter of the earl's to Mr. Dayrolles, dated Sept. 10, 1772, that this attention continued the same to the end of his life.

In the year 1771, the earl's good friend the bishop of Waterford met with a very severe misfortune in his family. His son Mr. Chenevix, a gentleman of the most promising expectation, had it not been for a consumptive habit (of which his constitution gave early symptoms) fell a sacrifice to that fatal distemper, notwithstanding all his care by regularity of diet and exercise to put a stop to it. He died at Nice, to which place he had been sent by his indulgent father, in the fond hope of restoring his health. Lord Chesterfield's friendship for the bishop of Waterford was too strong to be merely personal. It extended to his whole family. The bishop's brother, lieutenant-colonel Chenevix of the Carabineers, had received marks of the earl's regard and confidence during his administration in Ireland, and had acquitted himself with an ability and integrity suitable to the trust reposed in him [66]. The death of this gallant and worthy officer, which happened in the year 1758, was much regretted by his lordship. The same cause operating in a greater degree, and aided,

aided, moreover, by that partiality our earl al-
ways seems to have entertained for the rising
generation, wherever he discovered the dawnings
of merit to justify it, had from the beginning
warmly interested him in favour of young Mr.
Chenevix. He made frequent inquiries about
him, and in particular we find him in the
year 1761 earnestly congratulating the bishop
on the success of his son at the university, and
on the report of his being likely to answer not
only the hopes, but the wishes of his worthy fa-
ther [67]. These congratulations are repeated in
1767, when Mr. Chenevix first appeared in the
pulpit [68]. The earl's letter to the bishop of the
19th December 1771, is a letter of condolence on
the melancholy event of his son's death. This is
the last letter from the earl to the bishop in this
collection; and it is probably the last he ever
wrote to him: his correspondence thus closing
with the kind office of endeavouring to administer
comfort to his friend, labouring under the same
affliction he had himself but lately experienced.
It is observable, that he prescribes to him the same
kind of relief. *The care of your grandson, says the
earl, will be a proper avocation from your grief.*

1769
to
1773.

We have already given an account of lord
Chesterfield's health to the year 1769. From that
time, the only material alteration in it was a
stubborn inflammation in his eyes, which fre-
quently deprived him of the only comfort he had
left. His fears upon this occasion, lest he should
totally lose the blessing of sight, are expressed in
the strongest terms. It is observed in the notes
subjoined to a few of his last letters to the bishop
of Waterford, that the originals are some of them
written in a very trembling hand; and that there
are others which are evidently in the hand-writing
of

1769 of another person. This goes no further than the
 to latter end of 1771. I am informed, from private
 1773. authority [69], that the few letters the earl sent
 in the year 1772, were all dictated to an amanuensis, and only signed by him.

Lord Chesterfield had now, as he himself mentions out-lived almost all his friends and contemporaries. He had still, however, one brother living, Sir William Stanhope; who had for some years been in a very precarious state of health, and had been obliged to pass his winters in the south of France, in order to avoid the rigour of this climate. In the summer 1772, Sir William, on his annual return to England, was taken suddenly ill, and died near Dijon, not being able to proceed any further on his journey [70].

Lord Chesterfield himself had been seized in the beginning of the same summer with a *diarrhoea*, which baffled the best endeavours of the medical art. He mentions it in the last letter to his friend Mr. Dayrolles, published in this collection, dated Sept. 24, 1772. This symptom continued more or less troublesome ever after, and was in the end the cause of his death. He was afflicted with no other illness, and remained to the last free from all manner of pain, enjoying his surprizing memory and presence of mind to his latest breath; perfectly composed and resigned to part with life, and only regretting, that death was so tardy to meet him.

Upon the morning of his decease, and about half an hour before it happened, Mr. Dayrolles called upon him to make his usual visit. When he had entered the room, the *valet de chambre* opening the curtains of the bed announced Mr. Dayrolles to his lordship. The earl just found
 strength



Le Noir sc.

strength enough, in a faint voice, to say, *Give* 1769
Dayrolles a Chair. These were the last words he to
was heard to speak. They were characteristic; 1773.
and were remarked by the very able and attentive
physician [71] who was then in the room. *His*
good breeding, said that gentleman, *only quits him*
with his life.

Thus died, on the 24th day of March, 1773, Philip-Dormer Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield; a nobleman unequalled in his time, for variety of talents, brilliancy of wit, politeness, and elegance of conversation. At once a man of pleasure and of business; yet never suffering the former to encroach upon the latter. His embassy in Holland marks his skill, dexterity, and address, as an able negotiator. His administration in Ireland, where his name is still revered by all ranks and orders of men, indicates his integrity, vigilance, and sound policy as a statesman. His speeches in parliament fix his reputation as a distinguished orator, in a refined and uncommon species of eloquence. His conduct in public life was upright, conscientious, and steady: in private, friendly and affectionate: in both, pleasant, amiable, and conciliating.

These were his excellencies;—let those who surpass him speak of his defects.

END OF THE MEMOIRS.

NOTES & INTRODUCTION

SEVERAL of the Honors which have been conferred upon the late Lord, in particular, expressed himself in the following manner: "Virtutis estimanda laus est, sed non tantum laus, sed et imaginatio, sed et ingenium, sed et fortuna."

N O T E S

ON THE

M E M O I R S.

NOTES

ON THE

MEMOIRS

NOTES of the INTRODUCTION.

[1] SEVERAL of the Roman writers have owned this. Livy, in particular, expresses himself in the following manner: “ Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus
 “ reor, falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familiæ ad se
 “ quæque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallente
 “ mendacio trahunt. Inde certe et singulorum gesta,
 “ et publica monumenta rerum confusa.” Liv. VIII. 40.

[2] In his life of Atticus, indeed, he holds a much superior rank, for he was his contemporary.

[3] In a conversation which I had with his lordship, soon after his election into the French academy of *inscriptions and belles lettres*, I mentioned, as it was not unlikely that I might be called upon to send to his new associates some account of his life, it were to be wished, that he would furnish me with materials for such a task. This he thought fit to decline, though not averse from the proposal. His lordship modestly added, that few or no lives could stand the test of minute examination. Yet I have reason to believe, that he had himself some intention of this kind, and was perhaps at that very time employed in the undertaking. The bishop of Waterford, his chaplain and friend, expresses his surprise that nothing should have been found among the late earl’s papers concerning the history of his own times. “ His lordship,” he says, “ repeated to him more than once, that he was
 “ writing it, as far as his memory (which was a good
 “ one) would furnish him with matter ;” and lord S—, whose mother was first cousin to lord Chesterfield, assured the bishop as having it from Sir William Stanhope, that one day, upon his brother’s shewing him his manuscripts, he had told him, that by his will he had left him the publication of them ; and then added, *publish them as soon as you dare.*

NOTES of SECTION I.

[1] BY a mistake in Collins's Peerage of England, vol. II. p. 270. the time of his birth is placed one year later. Lord Chesterfield often mentioned this to his friends; but he did not think it worth while to have it corrected. This particular I first learned from Dr. Mounsey, physician to Chelsea hospital, a friend to the earl; and as it appears from one of his letters to him (*vide* collection published by Mrs. Eugenia Stanhope, vol. II. p. 603, 4to), exactly of the same age. This date might be confirmed by passages of his letters to his son and to other persons, and it will be found of some importance from an anecdote hereafter related.

[2] Their family has been established in the north of England for many centuries, even before the time of Edward I.; but from the reign of that king's grandson, their principal estates have been in Nottinghamshire and in Derbyshire. See Collins's Peerage, p. 257.

[3] The earls of Stanhope, Harrington, &c.

[4] The duke of Newcastle, the earl of Huntingdon, lord Southwell, &c.

[5] John Polyander of Kerkhoven, lord of Heenvliet. *Vaderlandsche Historie*, Book XLIII. p. 298.

[6] This may account for his being at least a tacit promoter of the revolution, and for his joining with the court on some important questions, and in particular in one of the protests of the year 1689, against the sacramental test, which excluded protestant dissenters as well as catholics from public employments. It is affirmed in the Peerage (*ibid.*), that he received his education with the late king William; but this is surely an anachronism, as he was seventeen years older than that prince.

[7] That part of the king's forests on this side Trent, near Nottingham, where the famous Robinhood lived, called

called *thorny-wood*, is part of Sherwood forest, and is entailed on the Chesterfield title.

[8] I cannot resist the temptation of transcribing (though I will not venture to translate it) this lord's character, as it was drawn by the masterly hand of count Anthony Hamilton, who, having followed king James in his exile, was one of the principal ornaments of the court of St. Germain, and there composed several French pieces full of wit and humour. His principal work, entitled, *Memoires du comte de Grammont* (vilely translated by Boyer), contains more authentic, though scandalous, anecdotes of those licentious times than any other extant. The count describes this lord Chesterfield, to whom we shall soon see he could not be very partial, in the following terms. " Il avoit le visage fort agréable, la tête assez belle, peu de taille et moins d'air. Il ne manquoit pas d'esprit. Un long séjour en Italie lui en avoit communiqué la cérémonie dans le commerce des hommes, et la défiance dans celui des femmes. Il avoit été fort haï du roi (Charles II) parce qu'il avoit été fort aimé de la Castlemaine. Le bruit commun étoit qu'il avoit eu ses bonnes grâces, avant qu'elle fut mariée; et comme ni l'un ni l'autre ne s'en défendoit, on le croyoit assez volontiers." *Mem. de Grammont, ch. VIII.*

[9] The partiality of lady Chesterfield to George Hamilton, the historian's brother, and to the duke of York; and the adventure which happened on her being removed by her lord to his country-seat, an event occasioned by the instigation of the former lover, and the unguarded behaviour of the latter, are admirably related by the same author. It is with regret that I find myself under the necessity of omitting this humorous account; I shall only transcribe the following passage. " La cour fut remplie de cet événement, mais peu de gens approuvoient le procédé de my lord Chesterfield. On regardoit avec étonnement en Angleterre un homme qui avoit la malhonnêteté d'être jaloux de sa femme; mais dans la ville ce fut un prodige inconnu jusqu'alors de voir un mari recourir à ces moyens violens pour prévenir ce que craint et que mérite la jalousie. On excusoit pourtant le pauvre Chesterfield autant qu'on l'osoit sans s'attirer la haine publique, en accusant la
" mauvaise

“mauvaise éducation qu’il avoit eue. Toutes les meres
 “promirent bien à Dieu que leurs enfants ne mettroient
 “jamais le piéd en Italie pendant leurs vies, pour en rap-
 “porter cette vilaine habitude de contraindre leurs fem-
 “mes.” Ibid. Among the wits who distinguished them-
 selves on this occasion, were St. Evremond, the earls of
 Rochester and Dorset, Sir Charles Sedley, Sir George
 Etheredge, and many more.

[10] In the neighbourhood of Twickenham.

[11] This dedication, like most others, is a fulsome
 panegyric. *Nothing*, says an ingenious author, speaking
 of our poet, *can exceed the flattery of a genealogist but that*
of a dedicatior. (Walpole’s Noble Authors) Mr. Dryden’s
 patron, at the time that he debased himself so much as to
 accept of this incense, was in his grand climacteric. His
 grandson, at a much earlier period, would have rejected
 it with indignation.

[12] The following information I since received from
 the bishop of Waterford. “The earl of Chesterfield’s
 “father was educated at Westminster-school, under the
 “famous Dr. Busby, and was thought to have strong
 “parts. He was a high tory, if not a Jacobite ; for he
 “was even suspected to have sent money to the pretender,
 “and was displeased that his son had accepted any em-
 “ployment, particularly one which he did not think
 “considerable enough for a person of his rank and for-
 “tune. He was, as I have often heard, of a morose
 “disposition, of violent passions, and often thought that
 “people behaved ill to him, when they did not in the
 “least intend it.”

[13] The marquis of Halifax died in 1695, a year
 after the birth of a grandson, who may, perhaps, justly
 be compared to him in extent of capacity, fertility of
 genius, and brilliancy of wit. They both distinguished
 themselves in parliament by their eloquence ; at court,
 by their knowledge of the world ; in company, by
 their art of pleasing. They were both very useful
 to their sovereigns, though not much attached either
 to the prerogative or to the person of any king.
 They both knew, humoured, and despised, the dif-
 ferent parties. The Epicurean philosophy was their
 common study. Lord Halifax drew a masterly character
 of

of bishop Burnet, and a still more elaborate one of king Charles II.; and he wrote maxims not much inferior to those of La Rochefoucault. Lord Chesterfield has left moral essays which Addison and Swift would not have disowned; and sketches or characters worthy of his grandfather's pen. The advice of the one to his daughter, and the letters of the other to his son, may also admit of a comparison.

This was already written, when I had the satisfaction to find that my idea was confirmed by the bishop of Waterford. I quote his letter, as it contains a remarkable stroke of lord Halifax's wit.

“ I have heard that his lordship (the earl of Chesterfield) had much of the same kind of wit as his grandfather the marquis of Halifax. An answer of his, which his lordship told me, is, I think, some proof of it. At the beginning of the revolution, several persons of rank who had been very zealous and serviceable in bringing about this happy event, but at the same time had no great abilities, applied for some of the most considerable employments in the government. The marquis being consulted upon this, answered; *I remember to have read in history that Rome was saved by geese; but I do not remember that these geese were made consuls.*”

[14] Of the sons, Sir William Stanhope was next to lord Chesterfield in birth. He was by no means destitute of parts and vivacity; but his turn of mind, somewhat similar to his father's, made him so great a favourite, that while the father allowed his eldest son only an annual stipend of five hundred pounds, he settled upon the second, on his marriage, his Buckinghamshire estate, worth eight thousand pounds a year. Sir William represented the county in several parliaments, and on the revival of the order of the Bath in 1725, he was elected one of the knights. The third son John was, I know not for what reason, entirely omitted in his father's will; but lord Chesterfield allowed him above a thousand pounds a year, procured him a seat in parliament for Nottingham, and employed him as secretary of embassy at the Hague. He inherited, in 1736, an estate of three thousand pounds a year, left by their uncle lord Charles Wotton to the fourth son Charles, and entailed upon the other brothers; and, in case of failure

lure of issue male, upon earl Stanhope and his heirs. I am informed by lady Chesterfield, that this Charles Stanhope was a man of a most amiable disposition. Of the two daughters, lady Gertrude Hotham is still living, and preserves, in an advanced age, her brother's manly wit, united with every female virtue. She was also brought up by lady Halifax.

[15] "My father was neither desirous nor able to advise me." Chest. Let. to his son, vol. I. p. 215.

He left, however, to lord Chesterfield, by his will, his whole personal estate, together with the two real estates in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire, and the reversion of that in Buckinghamshire. Lord Chesterfield, out of friendship to Sir William Stanhope, consented to his selling out to the value of one thousand pounds a year, to pay some debts.

[16] She was daughter to the honourable William Pierpoint. Collins's Peerage, II. 270.

[17] "When I was at your age (about eleven years old) I should have been ashamed if any boy of that age had learned his book better, or played at any play better than I did; and I should not have rested a moment till I had got before him." Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 156.

[18] Richard Cromwell died July 13, 1712, at Cheshunt in Hertfordshire. Biograph. Britan.

[19] He was, from his infancy, accustomed to speak French, having had a female-servant, born in Normandy, to attend him; but her language was not very pure. When lord Chesterfield was last at Paris in 1741, M. Fontenelle having remarked that he had something of a Norman accent, asked him, whether he had not first learned French from a person of that province. His lordship answered, that the observation was very just.

[22] There is something very pleasing in observing the first dawnings of such a man's genius; and these are strongly apparent in the letters which I think myself happy to be able to communicate to the public in their original dress. I owe them to an intimate friend of mine who was related to Mr. Jouneau. They will be added to this account.

[23] It cannot be disowned, that at a more advanced period of life, he shewed no great partiality to his *Alma Mater*, having neither sent his son, nor his successor, to either

either university. This may be accounted for from his great desire of sacrificing to the Graces; and these goddesses must certainly have been not a little disgusted at some of the academical practices pointed out in the following passage. “ When I first went to the university, I drank and “ smoked, notwithstanding the aversion I had to wine “ and tobacco, only because I thought it genteel, and “ that it made me look like a man.” Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 316.

[24] With Dr. Johnson of Trinity Hall, and professor civil law at Cambridge. He was a man of parts and abilities, and a zealous whig.

[25] Professor Saunderson, who, though deprived of his eyes, taught his pupils to make the best use of theirs.

[26] His private tutor was Mr. Crow, member of the college, and bred up at Eton school. He was a very good Latin and Greek scholar, and, having taken the degree of doctor of divinity, was made chaplain to Dr. Gibson bishop of London, and afterwards to George II. The respectable prelate, to whom I am obliged for this and several other interesting particulars, informs me, that when lord Chesterfield was at the university, he used to study in his apartment, without stirring out of it till 6 o'clock in the evening.

[27] “ When I first came into the world—at nine- “ teen, I left the university of Cambridge, where I was “ an absolute pedant. When I talked my best, I talked “ Horace; when I aimed at being facetious, I quoted “ Martial; and when I had a mind to be a fine gentle- “ man, I talked Ovid. I was convinced that none but “ the ancients had common sense; that the classics con- “ tained every thing that was either necessary or useful, “ or ornamental to men: and I was not without thoughts “ of wearing the *toga virilis* of the Romans, instead of the “ vulgar and illiberal dress of the moderns.” Letters to his son, vol. II. p. 168.

[28] Of what consequence lord Chesterfield thought eloquence to be, as the only way of making a figure in parliament, appears from several of his letters, and in particular the LXIX. vol. II. and how much this was his object at the university, may be seen from the following

Q₂

quotation.

quotation. " So long ago as when I was at Cambridge, " whenever I read pieces of eloquence (and indeed they " were my principal study) whether ancient or modern, " I used to write down the shining passages, and then " translate them as well and as elegantly as ever I could ; " if Latin or French, into English ; if English into French. " This, which I practised for some years, not only im- " proved and formed my style, but imprinted in my " mind and memory the best thoughts of the best authors. " The trouble was little, but the experience I have ac- " quired was great." Ibid. p. 328.

[29] Mr. Knight himself, a member and an ornament of the college in which lord Chesterfield received his education, has most obligingly furnished me with the following dates. The honourable Philip Stanhope was admitted at Trinity hall, Cambridge, August 1712, and quitted it December 1714.

[30] In his letter to Mr. Jouneau, dated from the Hague, 10th of August, N. S. the day before the death of queen Ann. He was going to leave that place when he wrote this letter.

[31] " When I went abroad, I first went to the Hague, " where gaming was much in fashion, and where I ob- " served that many people of shining rank and character " gamed too. I was then young enough and silly enough " to believe that gaming was one of their accomplishments ; " and as I aimed at perfection, I adopted gaming as a " necessary step to it. Thus I acquired by error the habit " of a vice, which, far from adorning my character, has, " I am conscious, been a great blemish in it." Letter to his son, vol. II. p. 352.

[32] Mr. Gervais late dean of Tuam, who attended lord Burlington in his travels, and was often present at these interviews, gave this account to the bishop of Waterford.

[33] Letter to Mr. Jouneau, dated Paris, 7th December, 1714.

[34] See lord Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Pieces, N^o XXIII. XXIV.

[35] Letters to his son, vol. I. Lett. CLXXXI.

[36] See

[36] See letters to his son, and in particular letter CLXXXI. in vol. I. His lordship describes in it, with great vivacity and wit, his embarrassment and confusion on being first introduced into the company of ladies of distinction in France, and of the noviciate he was engaged in by one of these ladies. It was very natural that he should recommend the means which succeeded with him, to one whom he so ardently wished to bring up to his level.

[37] See the above letter to Mr. Jouneau.

[38] They make part of a very curious collection of original letters, lately presented to the British Museum by my friend and colleague Doctor Charles Morton.

[39] The same account was given me by my late excellent friend, Dr. Birch, and is found in some of the papers he left to the British Museum, of which he was one of the first trustees, and has shewn himself a most generous benefactor.

[40] Particulars of Bolingbroke's retirement, from Dr. Birch's papers.

NOTES

NOTES OF SECTION II.

[1] **T**HE death of Lewis XIV. happened the beginning of September 1715, while an enterprize was on foot in favour of the pretender

[2] “ If milder measures had been pursued, certain it is, that the tories would never have universally embraced jacobitism. The violence of the whigs forced them into the arms of the pretender.” So says lord Bolingbroke. See letter to Sir William Wyndham, p. 86, 87.

[3] See the debates in the house of commons, vol. VI. Though these parliamentary journals, as well as the proceedings of the house of peers, are destitute of sufficient authority to authenticate all the particulars of the speeches; yet as those persons who were principally concerned have not disowned them, they may be quoted as being upon the whole not very defective. This speech of lord Chesterfield was delivered on the 5th of August 1715; and as we know from himself, that he spoke a month (or rather six weeks) before he was of age, the date mentioned in the beginning is sufficiently ascertained. The bishop of Waterford’s account of this transaction differs in a few particulars of no great importance. I had this, I think, from unquestionable authority.

[4] A person under the age of twenty-one years cannot be elected to sit in parliament; the election is void; and for sitting and voting in the house of commons, the forfeit is £. 500. Jacob’s Law Dictionary.

[5] See the humorous account he gives of this noviciate in letter CLXXXI. to his son, vol. I.

[6] John Dalrymple, earl of Stair, a nobleman equally eminent for his activity, spirit, and abilities, in the cabinet and in the field,

[7] See

[7] See the French letter of the earl of Stair to secretary Craggs, printed in the same volume with lord Bolingbroke's letter to Sir William Wyndham, London, 1753. A friend assures me, that the circumstances contained in this letter relative to the pretender may be depended upon. I cannot help suspecting that the remarkable words of bishop Atterbury, when, on being put on shore at Calais, and hearing that lord Bolingbroke, who had just obtained his pardon, was arrived there on his way to England, he said, *Then we are exchanged*, conveyed an insinuation that his lordship was rewarded for the informations procured of the conspiracy for which the bishop suffered.

[8] This appears from the following anecdote which I owe to the bishop of Waterford, who had it from his noble patron. "During the time of the debates on the Excise Bill, the queen endeavoured to persuade lord Stair not to be concerned in the opposition. She told him that she wished, for his sake, that he would not meddle with politics, but would confine himself to the affairs of the army, as being a better judge of them: to which he answered; Madam, if I had not meddled with politics, I should not now have the honour of paying my respects to you; hinting, by this, that her majesty owed the crown to his conduct when ambassador at Paris during the time of the rebellion in 1715."

[9] See the earl of Stair's second memorial presented to the regent after the pretender's return to Paris.

[10] In the year 1694, the 6th of William and Mary.

[10*] Letters to his son, vol. II. p. 345.

[11] He even thought a period of seven years too short for Ireland, and expressed himself to the bishop of Waterford in the following manner. "You are all wild about elections in Ireland, and want, it seems, to have all the ill-blood, expence, and riot, which they occasion, renewed every seven years. I wish you would be quiet, for I prophecy that you will get no good by your politics."

[12] "That shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles II. has, with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion,

“ fusion, been brought to a degree of perfection, which,
 “ at this time, dishonours and distresses this country,
 “ and must, if not checked (and God knows how it can
 “ now be checked), ruin it.”

[13] Letters to his son, *ibid.* Lett. LXXXIX.

[14] The prince was offended that at the christening of his son the duke of Newcastle stood as Godfather; and he expressed his resentment in such a manner as drew upon him his father's indignation. The prince often told lord Chesterfield, “ That little things affected him more
 “ than great ones; and he was often put so much out of
 “ humour, at his private levee, by a mistake or blunder
 “ of a *valet de chambre*, that the gaping croud admitted to
 “ his public levee would, from his looks and silence, have
 “ concluded, that he had just received some dreadful
 “ news. Tacitus, added his lordship, would always have
 “ been deceived by him ”

[15] A much more distant relation; for he was descended from Sir John Stanhope, father of the first earl of Chesterfield, by a second wife. He was employed under this reign as envoy-extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Spain, and greatly distinguished himself as a negotiator. The late king appointed him his ambassador to the same court, and advanced him to the dignity of a peer, by the title of lord Harrington. He passed successively through the great offices of state, and was almost all his life-time engaged in a different interest from that of lord Chesterfield, being sometimes preferred to him, and sometimes superseded by him.

[16] By the first of these acts, all persons in places of profit and trust, who assisted at any place of worship where the common prayer was not used, forfeited their places; and, by the second, no person in Great Britain and Ireland was allowed, under pain of imprisonment, to keep any school, or be tutor or school-master, that had not subscribed to the declaration to conform to the church of England, obtained a licence from the diocesan, received the sacrament according to the communion of the church, and abstained from resorting, at least for a twelve-month, to any conventicle of the dissenters.

[17] Lord Guernsey's clause was to compel any person who took the abjuration oath, to acknowledge the divine

vine inspiration of the bible, and the doctrine of the Trinity. It was rejected by a great majority.

[18] By this bill the number of English peers was not to be enlarged beyond six; the vacancies, in case of extinction of titles, were to be supported by the crown; and, instead of the sixteen peers elected for Scotland at every new parliament, twenty-five were to be made hereditary members of the house of lords for that kingdom, and that number kept up in case of failures.

[19] General Stanhope.

[20] Colonel William Stanhope and his brother Charles Stanhope.

[21] The king, who was at supper, was no sooner informed of the earl's death, than unable to conceal his grief, and with tears in his eyes, he rose from table, and withdrew. The countess of Chesterfield, who was present, favoured me with this account of that king's great sensibility. Lord Chesterfield himself, many years afterwards, found an opportunity of expressing his sentiments of that nobleman's merit in the following words. "The bill now
" before us (that for restraining the power of the crown,
" with regard to the dismissal of officers) is in the very
" same terms with a bill drawn up in the last reign by as
" able and honest a minister as ever served the crown.
" He was indeed an honest and disinterested minister;
" for he had the happiness of his country so much at
" heart, that he neglected his own, and has left little else
" to his son but the honour of having a seat among your
" lordships." Debates of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 200.

[22] The lords justices appointed on this occasion were, the archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor Parker, lord Townshend lord president, the duke of Kingston lord privy seal, the duke of Argyll lord steward, the duke of Newcastle lord chamberlain, the duke of Grafton lord lieutenant of Ireland, the dukes of Bolton, Devonshire, Marlborough, and Roxburgh, the earl of Sunderland, the earls Berkeley and Stanhope, and Mr. secretary Craggs.

[23] From Spain, almost during this whole reign, and in 1717 from Sweden and Russia. It was rather singular, that these two last powers, actually at war with one another, should have thought of making peace only with a view of uniting to attack England.

[24] In

[24] In 1715 and 1719.

[25] In 1718 and 1722.

[26] In 1720, the South-Sea affair not only shook public credit, but also the opinion that foreign nations might have entertained of British wisdom. France, however, had no reason to triumph. She had her Mississippi.

[27] The death of Lewis XIV. who survived queen Ann but one year, changed the political system of both courts. George I. had not a more faithful and vigilant friend than the regent of France. They were in somewhat similar circumstances. Spain threatening, and indeed trying, equally to deprive the duke of Orleans of his succession to the throne of France, and king George of the possession of that of England. It was this consideration which bound them so fast together, and united them to a certain degree in their wars. But as this connection was personal, it did not extend to the interests of England; and the French ministry heartily wished to make the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain the price of settling firmly the French succession. As soon as that was secured by the majority and marriage of their king, the peaceful correspondence between the two nations was at an end.

[28] Her house was the resort of the best company at Rome; and to that intercourse, as well as to the instructions of so accomplished and virtuous a lady, her sons owed all their improvement and success.

[39] By the error of press (vice 29). The word *gynocracy* was in some measure created at the beginning of the next period, and was often made use of by Pope and his friends.

[30] He died in 1716.

[31] See the characters of both as speakers in lord Chesterfield's Letters to his Son.

[32] He preserved that dignity in the celebrated speech he made in the house of peers before his commitment to the Tower. Even his great antagonist Bolingbroke, who seems to have treated him with too much severity, owned in private conversation, that his answer to the Dutch ambassador Mr. Buys, at the council in 1712, was a masterpiece of composition, and delivered in a masterly manner.

[33] Letters

[33] Letters to his son, vol. I.

[34] The duke of Wharton's character has been admirably drawn by Mr. Pope, and his history is sufficiently known. The following fact, which is extracted from a book, the ingenious author of which had the best opportunity of being well informed of it, will furnish us at once a proof both of his talents and profligacy. "His grace, then in opposition to the court, went to Chelsea the day before the last debate on the bishop of Rochester's affairs; where acting contrition, he professed being determined to work out his pardon at court by speaking against the bishop; in order to which he begged some hints. The minister was deceived, and went through the whole cause with him, pointing out where the strength of the argument lay, and where its weakness. The duke was very thankful, returned to town, passed the night in drinking; and, without going to bed, went to the house of lords, where he spoke for the bishop, recapitulating in the most masterly manner, and answering all that had been argued against him." Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 127.

[35] That of York had been refused to him in the last reign: and it is said, that he entertained hopes of being bribed by that of Canterbury in this.

[36] I find in one of my late respectable friend Dr. Birch's papers the following anecdote. "Lord Harcourt leaving the old ministry, provoked Atterbury's abusive tongue. He, in return, declared, that, on the queen's death, the bishop came to him and to lord Bolingbroke, and said, nothing remained but immediately to proclaim K. J. He further offered, if they would give him a guard, to put on his lawn sleeves and head the procession."

[37] The following anecdote was often mentioned by lord Chesterfield; and I shall, to the best of my remembrance, give it in his own words. "I went to Mr. Pope one morning at Twickenham, and found a large folio bible with gilt clasps lying before him upon his table; and, as I knew his way of thinking upon that book, I
" asked

“ asked him jocosely, if he was going to write an an-
 “ swer to it? It is a present, said he, or rather a legacy,
 “ from my old friend the bishop of Rochester. I went
 “ to take my leave of him yesterday in the Tower, where
 “ I saw this bible upon his table. After the first compli-
 “ ments, the bishop said to me, My friend Pope, confi-
 “ dering your infirmities and my age and exile, it is not
 “ likely that we should ever meet again; and therefore I
 “ give you this legacy to remember me by it. Take it
 “ home with you, and let me advise you to abide by it.
 “ —Does your lordship abide by it yourself?—I do.—
 “ If you do, my lord, it is but lately. May I beg to
 “ know what new light or arguments have prevailed with
 “ you now, to entertain an opinion so contrary to that
 “ which you entertained of that book all the former part
 “ of your life?—The bishop replied, We have not time
 “ to talk of these things; but take home the book; I
 “ will abide by it; and I recommend to you to do so too,
 “ and so God blefs you.”

[38] The contrast between these two characters is
 strongly marked in lord Chesterfield's letters, vol. I. p.
 462. from which some of the strokes have been taken.

[39] See Dr. Taylor's Dissertation prefixed to his edi-
 tion of Demosthenes.

[40] Lord Bathurst.

[41] That I am not singular in this idea of our
 earl's eloquence will appear from the subjoined account
 which was given of it by a contemporary writer in the
 Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1740; it was well
 received, but seems rather too vague and pompous.
 “ Lord Chesterfield while he sat in the house of com-
 “ mons, which he did for several years during the life of
 “ his father, discovered not those extraordinary talents
 “ that have since distinguished him as one of the most
 “ accomplished orators his age or country has produced.
 “ When he begins to speak, he has a peculiar art of en-
 “ gaging the attention of his hearers, which he irresisti-
 “ bly carries along with him to the end. He unites in his
 “ delivery all the graces of diction that prevailed at
 “ Athens and Rome, and expresses himself with all the
 “ freedom which the British constitution allows, and all
 “ the dignity of a peer. He is by no means sparing of his
 “ Attic

“ Attic salt, which he applies so judiciously, as to please
 “ even those whom it might otherwise offend. He reasons
 “ with the calmness of a philosopher, he persuades with the
 “ art of an orator, he charms with the fancy of a poet.”

[42] Lord Chesterfield makes use of this very word in the idea he gives to his son of parliamentary eloquence. Lett. to his son, vol. II.

[43] Tully could do no more. Whitfield often did as much.

[44] In the year 1717, he is mentioned in one of Mr. Pope's letters to his friend Gay, as being in correspondence with him.

[45] The earl said, That he never knew a man who had more wit in conversation than Sir John Van Brugh, and who, at the same time, was more good-natured.

[47] Dr. Arbuthnot was not only the earl's physician, but his friend. He was often with him in a morning, and more than once declared himself, in his presence, a patron of Christianity. He used frequently to communicate his compositions to his lordship. He desired him to amend and correct what he thought proper; and was never displeased at his lordship's making use of that privilege.

[48] It was probably at lord Chesterfield's desire that Mr. Gay's Fables were composed for the duke of Cumberland; but he wanted interest to procure a suitable return to the author. His lordship attended at that poet's funeral in November, 1732, in Westminster-abbey, as one of the pall-bearers.

[49] Mr. Pope likewise shewed him several of his pieces in manuscript, that he might read them, and give him his opinion. “ Mr. Pope, it is said in one of the magazines, “ being one day in company at lord Cobham's with a great “ number of persons of distinction, who were scribbling “ verses on their glasses, was desired by lord Chesterfield “ to oblige them with a distich *extempore*. Favour me “ with your diamond, my lord, said the poet; and immediately after wrote on his glass.

“ Accept a miracle, instead of wit;

“ See two bad lines by Stanhope's pencil writ.”

But a much finer, though equally short, character was drawn of him and of Mr. Poulteney, by the same hand:

“ How

“ How can I Pulteney, Chesterfield forget,
 “ While Roman spirit charms, and Attic wit ?”

With these sentiments and under many obligations, it is rather surprising he should have omitted him in his will. I have been told, there arose some difference between them on account of the late dutchess of Marlborough, whose character, under the name of Atossa, Mr. Pope was, in vain, solicited by his friend to give up.

[50] Thomson, Mallet, Hooke, Glover, &c. One of these (Mr. Hammond) wrote, when only 22 years old, some love-elegies in the true manner of Tibullus; which lord Chesterfield esteemed so much, that, when the young author died ten years afterwards, he took upon him the pleasing task of publishing them. The short preface which he prefixed contains many strokes highly characteristic of his lordship's manner of thinking, as well as of his feelings.

[49] They procured many subscriptions to Mr. Gay for the impression of his Fables; and by the produce of these, as well as by the success of the Beggar's Opera, that poet was enriched as much as a poet commonly can, or perhaps ought to be enriched. Mr. Aaron Hill had frequent encouragements given him, notwithstanding his frequent bickerings with Mr. Pope; and even his great enemy Dennis was relieved in his old age, at the request of a man whom he had the most reviled.

[50] I shall copy the following article of one of the bishop of Waterford's letters to me. “ Lord Chesterfield told me, that, one winter, he was very often in
 “ company with Swift, and he observed that he was very
 “ desirous to be more particularly acquainted with him,
 “ but that he would not pay him the first visit; upon
 “ which his lordship condescended to make the first advance. When he was made lord steward, the dean
 “ applied for a place in favour of a friend. His lordship complied with his application; but, jocularly deferred, that he should not mention his name in any of
 “ his writings.”

[51] See

[51] See his character drawn by lord Chesterfield in one of his letters to his son, vol. II. : to which may be added the following particulars, imparted by the earl in a private conversation (Dec. 3, 1749,) to one of his friends, who took them down in writing, and communicated to me this memorandum. “ In a conversation I had this “ day with lord Chesterfield, upon the subject of lord “ Bolingbroke, he told me, that, though nobody spoke “ and wrote better upon philosophy than his lordship, no “ man in the world had less share of philosophy than “ himself; that the least trifle, such as the over-roasting “ of a leg of mutton, would strangely disturb and ruffle “ his temper; and that his passions constantly got the better of his judgment. He added, that no man was “ more partial to his friends, and more ready to oblige “ them, than he was; and that he would recommend “ them, and represent them, as so many models of perfection: but, on the other hand, that he was a most “ bitter enemy to those he hated; and though their merit “ might be out of all dispute, he would not allow them “ the least share of it, but would pronounce them so “ many fools and blockheads.”

[52] My late friend Mr. Mallet has often repeated to me that circumstance, which is strongly hinted at in lord Bolingbroke's own works. The late lord Clanbrassil told it the bishop of Waterford; and in a letter to Dr. Birch, from one of his best-informed correspondents, I find it asserted on no less an authority than that of the late earl of Orford.

[53] Mr. Horace, afterwards lord Walpole, treated this report as a fable; and the countess of Chesterfield, who was with the king in his last expedition, assured me, that whatever lord Bolingbroke might have been induced to hope or to say on that subject, the king never had such an intention.

[54] His Dialogues on the Newtonian System of Attraction and Colours, have been translated into English as well as other languages. The manner emulates that of Fontenelle's Plurality of Worlds, the philosophy is infinitely superior. Lord Chesterfield recommended his son to that amiable philosopher at Berlin.

[55] The

[55] The first edition of that poem was dedicated to her by the author in an English epistle. It was printed in London 1726.

[56] Mr. Voltaire acquired, during his stay in England, a considerable knowledge of the language and of the manners of the nation. It was there that he composed his Letters upon the English Nation, in which he strongly recommends inoculation to his countrymen. He likewise published in English, an Essay on Epic Poetry. His Tragedy of Brutus was dedicated to lord Bolingbroke, and that of Zaire to Sir Everard Fawkener. But above all, he paid his court to Mr. Pope, translated several passages of his works, and earnestly wished he would have done him the same honour. In an English letter to this poet from Mr. Voltaire, which I once had in my possession, he desired him to translate the following four beautiful lines of his Henriade; but I do not find that the English bard ever complied with his request.

“ Leur empire n’a point de campagnes desertes,

“ De leurs nombreux troupeaux leurs plaines sont couvertes;

“ Les guérrets de leurs bleds, les mers de leurs vaisseaux;

“ Ils sont craints sur la terre, ils sont rois sur les eaux.”

[57] This he lamented in several of his letters, and if I am well informed, it retarded for many years his marriage with his lady; King George I. who was acquainted with this unfortunate propensity, having, on that account, opposed and prevented the match.

[58] In one of the rooms at Bath, he met a young nobleman just arrived, who had the same failing with himself. He whispered to his friend (pointing at the same time to some people who stood round them), *beware of these scoundrels; it is by flight alone that you can preserve your purse.* The nobleman believed him, quitted the room, and on his return found the earl engaged at play with those very harpies whom by his advice he had just escaped.

[59] The same hand, whose character of his lordship as an orator I just transcribed from the Gentleman’s Magazine, thus describes the charms of his conversation.

“ The

“ The most barren subjects grow fruitful under his cul-
 “ ture, and the most trivial circumstances are enlivened
 “ and heightened by his address. When he appears in
 “ the public walks, the company encroach upon good
 “ manners to listen to him, or (if the expression may be
 “ allowed) to steal some of that fine wit, which animates
 “ even his common discourses.

“ With poignant wit his converse still abounds,
 “ And charms, like beauty, those it deepest wounds.”

NOTES OF SECTION III.

[1] **T**HE following information, which I owe to the bishop of Waterford, renders this conjecture not improbable. “ At the beginning of the reign of George II, “ a person told lord Scarborough, lord Chesterfield, and “ lord Lonsdale, that the king intended to closet them “ with regard to something that was to be proposed to the “ house of lords: but they all three requested that his “ majesty would not do it, for it would have no influence “ upon them; but, on the contrary, make them so much “ the more upon their guard, being determined to vote “ according to their own way of thinking, as their honour “ and conscience directed them.” What this business was we cannot conjecture; but it is remarked by the compiler of the History and Proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 7. that, “ the order against the admission of “ strangers into the house was so strictly observed this session (the first of the new parliament), that no account “ of their lordships speeches or debates was published as “ usual after the recess; and that no one protest therein “ has appeared.”

[2] In return to the embassy from the States to compliment the new king on his accession.

[3] Perhaps it were to be wished, notwithstanding his great success, that this plan might have taken place. His address and penetration, as well as his conciliating spirit, would have been still more usefully exerted in disposing the two nations that have the greatest weight on the continent, to maintain the peace of Europe, instead of disturbing it.

[4] The sense that was entertained of lord Chesterfield's important services in this embassy, may be evinced by the following extract from a letter of lord Townshend's to the ambassador, dated Sept. 6, 1729. “ I cannot “ conclude

“ conclude this letter without applying myself particularly
“ to your excellency with all the joy imaginable—your
“ conduct, your activity, your zeal, your ability in per-
“ forming the king’s commands, gave his majesty the ut-
“ most satisfaction; and I congratulate your excellency,
“ not only on your success, but on this opportunity of
“ shewing his majesty, of how much importance it has
“ been to his service, to have had so dextrous, vigilant,
“ and zealous a minister as yourself at the Hague, in this
“ critical conjecture.” This, and some other information
of the same kind, was obtained from some original re-
cords, to which Dr. Maty had access.

[5] Mr. Vitriarius, a man of great knowledge, can-
dor, and virtue. His countrymen, the Germans, are sup-
posed to understand the *jus publicum* and *gentium* better
than the learned of any other nations. The origin and
state of their very complicated constitution renders this
study of particular importance to them. It was during
his travels in Germany that lord Carteret acquired his ex-
tensive notions of the customs and laws, as well as of the
constitution, of the empire; and with the same views lord
Chesterfield sent his son to the university of Leipzig, to
acquire, under professor Mascow, that knowledge which
he found so useful to himself.

[6] Lord Chesterfield’s Letters to his son, vol. I. Lett.
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[7] Unfortunately these were not always the best chosen
or enjoyed with moderation; but yet he continued faith-
ful to his rule, and though he might sometimes go to bed
at six in the morning, he never failed to rise at eight.

[8] See the letters and negotiations of Winwood, Car-
leton, and Sir William Temple, among the English; and
of Jeanin, d’Avaux, and d’Estrades, among the French.

[9] The limits of this work will not allow me to give
an account of the standing council of state in Holland,
and of several particular courts of justice, trade, and
accounpts.

[10] The nature and limits of their jurisdiction are
admirably well defined by one of the great ornaments of
the country. “ Quia res majores antiquitus nisi gentium
“ singularum consensu non expediebantur, mole negoti-
“ orum & periculo cunctationis repertum est, legatos

“mittere cum liberis mandatis, qui supremæ curiæ im-
 “minerent, et ubi quid gravius obveniret, moraque dig-
 “num, suæ quisque patriæ ordines consulerent.” Grotii
 Annal. lib. V.

[11] Lord Chesterfield mentions an instance of this nature in which he was concerned. Account of the government, &c. of the united provinces, published at the end of the letters to his son, vol. II. p. 508.

[12] Lord Chesterfield very shrewdly conjectures that William the first prince of Orange, who modelled the republic which he saved at his pleasure, permitted that absurd unanimity, in order to render a stadtholder or more powerful chief absolutely necessary. Ibid. p. 509. However, as this law is scarce ever strictly observed, it has not much greater inconveniencies than the unanimity required in English juries.

[13] This office was instituted in the year 1510, long before the provinces shook off the yoke of Austrian tyranny. The elevation of the young Charles of Austria, well known since under the name of Charles V, to the dignity of count of Holland, might induce the states to establish a kind of tribune, as a check to the ambition of that young prince. This officer has, in effect, frequently balanced the power of a stadtholder.

[14] This province contributes fifty-eight per cent in all public charges, of which, if I am not mistaken, Amsterdam alone, the fifth town of that province, pays above five and twenty per cent, or a full quarter of the whole.

[15] His functions are with equal strength and precision described by Grotius. “Is, principum temporibus
 “vox erat publicæ libertatis, utque tunc periculis, ita
 “mutata republica, auctoritate præcipuus, in conventu
 “ordinum et delegatorum consensu exquirat sententias,
 “præsit suadendo, componit dissidentes.” Grot. Annal. lib. V.

[16] He lived about the middle of the last century, and was a man of strict integrity, and great poetical as well as political abilities. His works are much esteemed, and judged not inferior to those of Ovid or La-Fontaine.

[17] So

[17] So well known in the times of king William and queen Ann. During this last period, it may be said, that for some years, a triumvirate, consisting of prince Eugene, the duke of Marlborough, and himself, ruled over one half of Europe.

[18] There was a great similitude between this and indeed many other circumstances of lord Chesterfield's embassy, and Sir William Temple's situation and conduct at the same place. He too trusted and loved De Witt, though he himself was in the interest of the prince of Orange. See his Memoirs.

[19] See his letters to his son, vol. II. p. 509.

[20] A complete and magnificent edition of Telema- chus, together with the archbishop of Cambray's other works, was, with the assistance, and under the inspection, of his grand nephew the ambassador, printed in Holland.

[21] This letter was long kept secret in England, though dated July 1, 1721. It was written in French to the king of Spain, and contained the following article.

“ I no longer hesitate to assure your majesty of my rea-
“ diness to satisfy you with regard to your demand con-
“ cerning the restitution of Gibraltar; promising you to
“ make use of the first favourable opportunity of settling
“ this article with consent of my parliament.” Boyer's Political State, vol. XXXVII. p. 263, where the original letter is printed.

[22] It was agreed by the contracting powers, that this last declaration, as well as two other separate articles, should not be published; and accordingly they are not to be found in Rouffet's *Recueil*, nor in any other work of the same kind. I extracted it from an excellent history of the united provinces, published in the low Dutch language. The author was allowed access to the registers of the States, and took the secret article from thence. See *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. XVIII. p. 505, 506.

[23] One of his speeches in defence of this treaty was published just before the meeting of parliament in 1730. It was translated into French, and is found in Rouffet's *Recueil*, vol. V.

[24] This is sufficiently evident from several passages in a small tract generally attributed to his lordship, and not unworthy of his pen. It is entitled, *The Case of the Han-*

ver forces in the pay of Great Britain, &c. and was published in 1743. I shall have frequent opportunities of referring to this pamphlet, as well as to the two vindications of it by the same hand. “This half year generated
 “ a half peace. To be friends with Spain was then (in
 “ 1729) our interest upon any terms. We not only treat,
 “ but humour, concede, nay, solicit the honor of being
 “ convoys to Don Carlos in Italy: that very Don
 “ Carlos, who was so lately set forth, as likely to become
 “ the so long dreaded universal monarch of Europe——
 “ Now to what did all this contribute! Not to the peace,
 “ security, wealth, and honor of England.” p. 10.

Since I wrote this, I saw a copy of this pamphlet, on the title page of which was written in the hand writing of lord Chesterfield, “by Mr. Waller and lord C———.” Edmund Waller, esq; was member of parliament for Chipping Wycomb. He supported in the house of commons, the same cause which lord Chesterfield defended in that of the peers. He was one of the secret committee for inquiring into the conduct of the minister, and spoke in many of the debates with great force of argument, but without the graces that distinguished several other heads of the opposition.

[25] The opinion entertained both of this memoir and of the abilities of the author, appears from the following passage. “Le comte de Chesterfield ambassadeur extraordinaire auprez de leurs Hautes Puissances, et l’un des
 “ plus expérimentés dans les affaires du cabinet, concerta
 “ avec les deputez un mémoire qu’ils remirent à Mr.
 “ Greys, envoyé de S. M. Danoise à la Haye. Il n’y eut
 “ plus d’autre application sur ce sujet, ni de part ni d’autre. Le projet de sa compagnie tomba de soi meme,
 “ faute de souscrivans.” Rouffet Recueil, Tom. V. p. 37. 42.

[26] The following information I received from one of lord Chesterfield’s friends. “In the year 1729, Sir Charles
 “ Hotham, brother-in-law to his lordship, was sent as minister plenipotentiary to the king of Prussia, to propose
 “ a marriage between the prince of Wales and the eldest
 “ princess of Prussia, and another between the prince
 “ royal of Prussia, and the king of England’s second
 “ daughter. His Prussian majesty’s answer was, that he
 “ would consent to the marriage of his prince royal with
 “ our

“ our princess, if our king did not insist upon a double
 “ marriage on the terms proposed; but that if he did, he
 “ would not consent to either of them; for that he thought
 “ he had as much right to expect our princess royal for
 “ his eldest son, as our king had to expect his princess
 “ royal for the prince of Wales. The two kings per-
 “ sisting in their respective resolutions, there was an end
 “ of the negotiation. In the year 1730, during lord Ches-
 “ terfield’s absence from the Hague, Mr. Keith, an officer
 “ in the king of Prussia’s service (an intimate friend to the
 “ prince royal, and who was to have accompanied him to
 “ England), made his escape from Berlin, came to the
 “ Hague, and took refuge in the ambassador’s house.
 “ Col. D. M. was sent in pursuit of him, with directions
 “ to seize him dead or alive. The grand pensionary hear-
 “ ing of this, sent for the Colonel, and advised him to
 “ forbear putting his design into execution, as he certainly
 “ would undergo the severity of the law if he were taken.
 “ However, to avoid accidents, Mr. Keith got out of the
 “ ambassador’s house, and embarked at Scheveling in an
 “ open boat, which conveyed him to England. He some
 “ time afterwards set out for Dublin, and remained there
 “ three years.” These particulars are confirmed in the
 eulogium of Mr. Keith, inserted in the memoirs of the acade-
 my of Berlin, for 1756. p. 533.

[27] See Case of Hanover forces, p. 22, 23.

[28] It appears from the original records mentioned in the note 4 of this section, that by lord Chesterfield’s assiduity and address, the Dutch were spirited up to such a degree, that the king of Prussia was glad to submit to an arbitration, the duke of Saxe Gotha on his part, the duke of Wolfenbüttele on the part of his majesty.

[29] On account of the transaction before mentioned, in note 14 of section II.

[30] The following particulars of this court revolution were communicated to me by one of lord Chesterfield’s intimate friends. “ The first time he appeared at court
 “ on his return to London (the 24th of October 1729),
 “ Sir Robert Walpole took him aside and told him, *I find*
 “ *you are come to be Secretary of State. Not I,* said his lord-
 “ ship, *I have as yet no pretensions, and wish for a place of*
 “ *more ease. But I claim the Garter, not as a reward for*
 “ *my*

“ my late services, but in virtue of his majesty’s promise while
 “ prince of Wales. I am a man of pleasure, and the blue
 “ ribband would add two inches to my size. Then I see how
 “ it is, replied Sir Robert, it is Townshend’s intrigue, in
 “ which you have no share; but it will be fruitless, you
 “ cannot be Secretary of State, nor shall you be beholden for the
 “ gratification of your wishes to any body but myself.”

[31] Upon lord Chesterfield’s being made high steward on the 19th of June, 1730, one of his predecessors, who was suspected to have made some advantage of the places in his department, gave him a list of the persons he had put in, and desired that they might be continued. The answer was; *I have at present no thoughts of turning any one out; but if I alter my mind, it will only be in relation to those who have bought.* The bishop of Waterford adds, that his lordship, at first, gave three or four places in his department at the recommendation of the royal family; but that afterwards he followed the example of the duke of Devonshire, when lord steward under king William III. and declined the same complaisance, looking upon those recommendations as so many encroachments.

[32] During his stay he assisted at the council in which the report was made of Colonel Chartres’s trial and condemnation at the Old Bailey for a rape he had not committed. His pardon was voted unanimously.

[33] The spirit and artful memoirs of these two ambassadors are inserted in Rouffet’s Recueil, vol. V. p. 5.

[34] Count Zinzendorf, a man of great parts and vivacity, and lord Chesterfield’s particular friend.

There is a remarkable passage in one of lord Chesterfield’s letters from the Hague, dated July 26, 1729, relative to this minister.

“ Count Zinzendorf, the imperial minister, left this
 “ place last Sunday morning, saying, that he was going
 “ to see some of these provinces, and might possibly go
 “ to Spa, but with an air of great mystery, which has
 “ occasioned some speculation here; but for my own part,
 “ as I know the gentleman, I do not believe the mystery
 “ is upon account of the journey, but I believe he rather takes the journey for the sake of the mystery.”
 From the records above-mentioned.

[35] See

[35] See his account of the negotiations for the treaty of the triple alliance in 1667.

[36] None of the general histories, or political collections, mention the private conference in which the treaty of Vienna was prepared. I only find in lord Walpole's pamphlet, entitled, *The interests of Great Britain steadily pursued*, p. 48. "that it was imparted in great confidence to the ministers and some of the great men of the republic." And in Rouffet's *Recueil*; "that suspicions were entertained of the pensionary's having been privy to the negotiation." It is likewise said there, "that he undertook to procure the consent of the provinces." But lord Chesterfield has cleared up this matter in the paper already referred to at the end of his letters to his son, vol. II. p. 508. This specimen of lord Chesterfield's political abilities gives us still greater cause to regret, that the account of this embassy which he is said to have written may possibly never see the light.

[37] See the paper quoted above.

[38] The following extracts from two letters of lord Chesterfield's to lord Townshend, the one dated 18th, the other 25th of February, 1729, will give an idea of the ambassador's opinion of the prince.

"The prince of Orange arrived here last night. I went to wait upon him, and as far as I am able to judge from half an hour's conversation only, I think he has extreme good parts. He is perfectly well-bred, and civil to every body, and with an ease and freedom that is seldom acquired but by a long knowledge of the world. His face is handsome—his shape is not so advantageous as could be wished, though not near so bad as I had heard it represented. The acclamations of the people are loud and universal. He assumes not the least dignity, but has all the affability and insinuation that is necessary for a person who would raise himself in a popular government."

"As I have had the honour of frequently conversing with the prince, I can assure your lordship, as far as I am able to judge, that he has both parts and knowledge,

“ ledge, not only much above his age, but equal to any
 “ body’s; and without troubling your lordship with par-
 “ ticulars, I believe I may venture to say, that he will
 “ equal the greatest of his ancestors in great and good
 “ qualities; I hope he will in good fortune too.” From
 the original records before mentioned.

[39] Mr. Duncan, a principal officer in the prince’s court, employed at London to conclude this marriage, had several times conferred with lord Chesterfield upon this subject. He continued his lordship’s friend and correspondent even after his defection from the court. Mr. Van Haaren, a nobleman of Friesland, greatly in favor with the prince, and whose poems, though written in Dutch, were so much esteemed by Voltaire as to induce him to write and publish some verses in praise of the author, was likewise our earl’s friend. But the person with whom he was particularly connected, and entertained a constant correspondence, was Mr. Van Kreuningen, a gentleman who unites great singularities with considerable talents.

[40] It appears from the records before quoted, that the pensionary was not only inclined to oppose the prince of Orange in his views to the stadtholderat, but also in the intended match with the princess royal; and that, therefore, lord Chesterfield had great difficulties to overcome in managing this matter, and in treating with the pensionary on a subject of so nice and delicate a nature.

[41] The abbé Strickland, uncle to the gentleman here mentioned, was a man of considerable family; and his interest was so great at Rome, that he had the promise of being made cardinal, upon his resigning his claim to the court of Vienna in favor of the Zinzendorf family; and, at the recommendation of earl Stanhope, he was made bishop of Namur. During the earl’s administration he came over to England, and endeavoured to persuade the Roman catholics to take an oath of allegiance to the king, which might have procured them the abolition of the test and other oppressive acts. But this attempt was unsuccessful; and perhaps both parties were averse from terms of accommodation.

[42] The

[42] The doctor received on this occasion the present of a gold snuff-box from the grand duke.

[43] See lord Chesterfield's own account of this illness in his letters to his son, vol. II. p. 480, 481.

[44] He obtained several small favors for his friends from the minister, and recommended his chaplain to him for a canonry of Windsor or prebend of Westminster.

[45] The frauds practised in the tobacco trade were the motives alledged to subject it to the laws of the excise. These laws were represented, and perhaps with reason, as preferable to the methods used at the Custom-house, to prevent losses in the collection of duties and payment of drawbacks. The scheme was likewise recommended as particularly serviceable to American planters and the English fair traders, and only hurtful to smugglers and contraband dealers. On the other hand, the ill consequences of these abuses seemed not considerable enough to justify such an innovation; the remedy proposed was not allowed to be either necessary or certain; new grievances, as well domestic as public, were apprehended from increasing the number of excise officers; and suspicions were entertained that, under the same pretence (for what branch of trade hath not its frauds?) an universal extension of the excise was either then, or might hereafter be, intended. The people, once possessed with the fear of an attempt upon their liberties, compared this scheme to the Trojan horse; and indeed it was likely to have proved as fatal to this ministry, as the obstinate prosecution of a fanatic priest was to the whig ministry in the time of queen Ann.

[46] The queen, finding that the excise bill was strongly opposed by the whole nation, applied, among others, to lord Scarborough for his advice. His answer was, that the king must give it up. *I will answer for my regiment, said his lordship, against the pretender, but not against the opposers of the excise.* Upon which her majesty, with tears in her eyes, said, *we must then drop it.* Letter of the bishop of Waterford. The second reading of the bill, in the house of commons, was accordingly put off by Sir Robert Walpole for two months.

[47] Lord

[47] Lord Clinton was then one of the lords of his majesty's bed-chamber, and lord lieutenant of Devonshire; he was advanced to the dignities of earl Clinton and baron Fortescue, July 5, 1746.

[48] By a mistake in the History of the debates and proceedings of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 152. the earl's resignation is said to have been in May.

[49] Craftsman, N^o 354. April 14.

[50] The Free Briton, N^o 176. April 16.

From the report of the secret committee, printed in 1742, p. 111, 112, it appears, that the author, Mr. Arnall, was paid by the government, and received in three years time, for this and other services, near ten thousand pounds.

NOTES OF SECTION IV.

[1] **O**NE day lord Chesterfield told one of his friends, *Scarborough acts upon principle*, which I will not say of many; but he has put it into his head that opposition is serving the pretender.

[2] An anecdote, in appearance trifling, may confirm how far these contrivances did extend. The late lord R——, with many good qualities, and even learning and parts, had a strong desire of being thought skilful in physic, and was very expert in bleeding. Lord Chesterfield who knew his foible, and on a particular occasion wished to have his vote, came to him one morning, and, after having conversed upon indifferent matters, complained of the head-ach, and desired his lordship to feel his pulse. It was found to beat high, and a hint of losing blood given. I have no objection, and as I hear your lordship has a masterly hand, will you favor me with trying your lancet upon me? *A propos*, said lord Chesterfield, after the operation, *do you go to the house to-day?* Lord R—— answered, *I did not intend to go, not being sufficiently informed of the question which is to be debated; but you who have considered it, which side will you be of?* The earl, having gained his confidence, easily directed his judgment; he carried him to the house, and got him to vote as he pleased. He used afterwards to say, that none of his friends had done as much as he, having literally bled for the good of his country.

[3] Besides the periodical political papers, the debates in parliament, Rouffet's *Recueils*, &c. in controverted points I have chiefly had in view the following capital pamphlets. 1. The Case of the Hanover forces, and the Two Vindications of it already mentioned, Sect. III. note 24. 2. The Answer to the Case, intitled, The Interest of Britain

tain steadily pursued, by Mr. Horace, afterwards lord, Walpole, 1744. 3. Miscellaneous Thoughts on the present Posture both of Foreign and Domestic Affairs, by Lord Hervey, after he had quitted the ministry, 1742. 4. Faction detected by the Evidence of Facts, 1743; with a masterly answer to this pamphlet, intitled, A Defence of the People, 1744. 5. Apology for a late Resignation (of lord Chesterfield), written without the concurrence of the earl, but approved by him after its publication, 1748; and 6. Examination of the Principles, and an Inquiry into the Conduct, of the Two Brothers, in two parts, published under the direction of lord Granville, 1749.

[4] Her father was Frederick Achatz de Schulenburg, privy-councillor to the duke of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, lord of Stehler, Bezendorff, Angern, &c. &c. Her mother was Margaret Gertrude de Schulenburg, of the house of Embden, daughter to Gustavus Adolphus de Schulenburg, privy councillor to the elector of Brandenburg, and eldest sister of Mathew John count de Schulenburg, field-marshal general of the republic of Venice.

[5] It did not at first promote the wished-for restoration of the prince of Orange to the dignity of his ancestors. It was even reported, that when the marriage was communicated to the States General by Mr. Finch, the British minister at the Hague, Mr. Boetzlaer, one of the nobles of Holland, at the head of the anti stadtholderian party, received private assurances, that the king would not interfere in the affairs of the prince. The States seemed to be well convinced of this disposition of the monarch; and, in their answer to his majesty's letter, after expressing their personal regard for the young prince, they declared, that they would by no means consent to any alteration in their present form of government.

[6] Dr. Chenevix, his lordship's favorite chaplain, was by him recommended to the prince of Orange to teach him English; and by the interposition of the bishop of London and the earl of Scarborough, was made first chaplain to the princess. This appointment, however, met with considerable opposition from the minister, to whom, as well as to the queen, Dr. Chenevix had been represented as strongly devoted to lord Chesterfield, and employed by him in writing political pamphlets. The first

first charge he openly avowed to Mr. Finch at the Hague; but the latter he absolutely denied, and the queen was convinced of his innocence. Mr. Duncan, the prince's agent at the British court, was, on this and many other occasions, very useful to Dr. Chenevix, from whom I received this information.

[7] The warm sentiments of esteem and attachment which he entertained for lord Cobham, undoubtedly animated his expressions, as they did those of their common friend Mr. Pope in the following lines:

And you, brave Cobham, to the latest breath,
Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death:
Such in those moments as in all the past,
“ Oh! save my country, heav'n!” shall be your last.

Stowe, the country residence of that accomplished nobleman, was at that time the seat of wit, taste, and virtue. Lord Chesterfield, to the end of his life, remembered and mentioned, with a degree of enthusiasm, the happy days which he had passed in that delightful villa; he contributed to its decorations, and was complimented by the noble possessor with a place among the few whom he admitted in his temple of friendship.

[8] His grace said, with still more severity than wit,
“ I am surprised to hear so much noise made about the removal of two noble lords from their commands in the army. It is true, there have been two lords removed, but only one soldier; and therefore, when lords are pleased to talk of soldiers having been turned out of their commissions in the army, they ought not to talk in the plural number.” This sarcasm soon lost all its force; two months only elapsed before lord Stair's regiment was taken from him, and the next year the duke of Argyll himself shared the same fate.

[9] This particular account was communicated to me by the bishop of Waterford, who had it from lord Scarborough himself.

[10] See Case of the Hanover forces, p. 10.

[11] This

[11] This was positively asserted by the opposition, and barely denied by the ministerial writers, who not only give no proof of their denial, but rather endeavour to justify what was laid to their charge. See *Case of the Hanover forces*, p. 15, 16. and *Interest of Great Britain steadily pursued*, p. 52, 53. The assertion of their antagonists seems to be supported by the call that was made in both houses upon the ministers for the instructions sent to the British envoy in Poland in 1729 (when Augustus had a dangerous attack of the disorder which carried him off four years later), and by the refusal of the ministers to produce those instructions. See Debates for 1735. Lord Chesterfield made the motion in the house of lords for this communication, and he spoke warmly to support it. It ought, however, to be observed, that the date of these instructions was anterior to the treaty of Vienna. At a period when the interests of several courts were so fluctuating, the instructions sent in 1729 might have been very different from those in 1733.

[12] I shall here set down the opposite accounts given of that transaction by the champions of the two parties. "Our resident in Holland," says the author of the *Case of the Hanover forces*, p. 19, 20. "had orders to be as loud and importunate as possible with the States, to enter with us into instant measures for the preservation of the house of Austria, and setting a bound to the growing power of France. They gave him to understand that they were very willing to meet his offers half way; when, lo! it appeared he had no power to treat." *The States*, answers the writer of the *Interest*, &c. p. 52. *were informed that the court of Vienna would take care of Luxemburg only, and leave the security of the barrier in the Netherlands to the care of Great Britain and Holland; and having in August, 1733, received from their engineer a relation of their barrier towns being in a ruinous condition, and destitute of troops, suddenly agreed to negotiate, and, against his majesty's instances, signed, November 11, an act of neutrality with France.* "Here again," replies the former writer in his *further Vindication*, p. 74. "the author is wholly silent as to what passed before this transaction; for this act of neutrality had been long in treaty before it came to be signed, and was actually necessitated by the
conduct

“conduct of England, which had refused to send over the
 “10,000 men it was by treaty obliged to provide for the
 “security of the barrier.” What can be said to all this,
 but *Cui creditis, Quirites?* In the history of the Nether-
 lands, which I mentioned before, the English are not re-
 presented as having been very pressing with the Dutch, to
 dissuade them from a neutrality, vol. XIX. p. 161. Lord
 Stair, in a French memorial addressed to the king after the
 battle of Dettingen, says, “In 1734, I presented to your
 “majesty a plan to form an army upon the Moselle,
 “which would have rendered you the arbitrator of Eu-
 “rope.”

[13] Very opposite again are the accounts of the two
 parties. In the *Interest*, &c. p. 35. it is said; *The tender*
of their (England and Holland) *good offices was made to,*
and READILY ACCEPTED BY, FRANCE; but the emperor
rejected them for several months together—The language held
to the ministry of France made an impression upon the cardinal
de Fleury, and induced him, for fear of a general war, to
hasten the negotiation with the Imperial court, and settle the
articles of peace. No such thing, if we believe the writer
 of *Faction detected*, p. 31. “The minister began to make
 “proposals, and to offer his mediation to the courts both
 “of Paris and Vienna.—The court of Vienna—severely
 “wounded—disdained to treat with him any more, and—
 “the answer made to these proposals by the king of
 “France concluded in these words: *I will do my utmost*
 “*endeavours in Germany to weaken my enemies; I have al-*
 “*ready declared that I would not keep possession of any of the*
 “*places I should take. Let England rest satisfied with this*
 “*promise.—She would have pleased me in her mediation, if*
 “*she had not at the same time armed herself;—but I would*
 “*have her to know, that no power in Europe shall give law;*
 “*and this you may tell your master.—The peace was con-*
 “*cluded with the Imperial court, in which we were in no*
 “*degree consulted.”* The Dutch history is equally posi-
 tive that England had no share in the negotiation. Ibid.
 p. 206.

[14] Fog's Journal, January 17, 1736. Two other
 satyrical papers, by the same hand; the one on the ears,
 the other on the eyes, were likewise inserted on the 24th
 of January and 10th of April of the same year. These

papers were so well received, that they were re published at the end of the first volume of Common Sense, a periodical paper, which we shall soon have occasion to mention.

[15] In one of lord Chesterfield's speeches in 1735, I find the following words, which might appear prophetic, if a dozen years were sufficient to establish the reputation of a prophet. "Before the flames (of war) can be extinguished, I am afraid much blood will be spilt, great princes must suffer, even queens must weep; the conduct of ministers must be inquired into, and some must meet with that punishment they deserve, before that flame can be extinguished which has been raised by their mismanagement." Debates of the House of Lords, vol. IV. p. 456.

[16] Five acts of parliament, together with a seditious paper, were inclosed in a bag of brown paper, with several parcels of gun-powder. This was dropped on the landing place between the court of the king's bench and that of chancery, during the sittings of the two courts, and by means of a match, several explosions were made, which greatly terrified the audience, and might have been attended with most dreadful consequences. Fanaticism, as well as dissatisfaction, was at the bottom of this foolish, new powder-plot. A non-juring clergyman was discovered to have been the contriver of this ridiculous affair: he was punished; but as more people were suspected of having been concerned in it, a stop was put to any further prosecution.

[17] From the report of the secret committee in 1742, it appeared, that from the year 1732, no less a sum than fifty thousand pounds had been lavished upon gazetteers, couranteers, and other ministerial writers, now forgotten as well as their pamphlets or weekly papers.

[18] Leonidas, by Mr. Glover, printed by subscription in 1737.

[19] See the magazines and other periodical repositories of wit.

[20] The Dissertation upon Parties; the Remarks upon the History of England, &c. by lord Bolingbroke.

[21] Fog's Journal; the Craftsman; Common Sense; Old England. The most eminent members of the opposition were concerned in these occasional papers. Those of which

which lord Chesterfield was the author, were oftner calculated to reform the manners, and promote taste and virtue.

[22] The author and publisher of Manners, and some of the writers of the Craftsman.

[23] This might be true, were not juries sometimes known to be biased by the prejudices of the times. It has, besides, always been thought the character of a wise administration, to prevent crimes rather than to punish them.

[24] As I would not venture in this place to give any extract of this speech, I hope the readers will not be displeased to see it complete at the end of this collection.

[25] Many instances might be alledged of this disposition; the following, which I believe is not known, I shall give in the words of the bishop of Waterford, in a letter to me. "Lord Chesterfield having been so condescending
" as to come and pay a visit to my wife and me at my
" country living, and speaking one evening at supper of
" lady Sundon (bed-chamber woman to queen Caroline,
" and first cousin to colonel Dives my wife's father), told
" us a thing that surprised us very much, which was, that
" through the influence of her ladyship, her majesty had
" it once in her thoughts to make Dr. Friend secretary of
" state, though he was looked upon to be inclined to ja-
" cobitism." This must have happened at the beginning of the reign of George II, for Dr. Friend, who was made first physician to the queen, died July 26, 1728.

[26] A deputation from the quakers having waited upon the prince to solicit his interest in favour of their tithing bill in 1735, he answered, "that as a friend to liberty in general, and toleration in particular, he wished
" they might meet with all proper favour, but for himself
" he never gave his vote in parliament, and it did not become his station to influence his friends, or direct his
" servants. To leave them entirely to their own conscience and understanding was a rule he had hitherto
" prescribed to himself, and purposed through his whole
" life to observe." The reply from Andrew Pit, the man who spoke in the name of the body, was not less remarkable. He said, "May it please the prince of Wales, I
" am greatly affected with his excellent notions of liberty,

“ and am more pleased with the answer he has given us,
 “ than if he had granted our request.”

[27] He had already distinguished himself as an imitator of Montesquieu in his new Persian letters, and had the principal share with lord Chesterfield in the periodical paper called Common Sense, a paper replete with excellent lessons of morality delivered with judgment and wit.

[28] I am told that at lord Bolingbroke's first interview with the prince, his lordship, who was the first at the place of *rendezvous*, had taken up a book, in which he was reading when H. R. H. came up; upon which he hastily rose from his chair, and stepping forward, his foot slipped, and he was ready to fall down, when the prince supporting him said, My lord, I hope this may be an omen of my succeeding to raise you.

[29] See Case of the Hanover forces, and Vindication, in several places. One of lord Chesterfield's *bon mots* was current at the time. It was said, that being one day in the house of peers before it was sitting, he told some lords that he had found out an expedient for ever to get rid of the pretender, by humbly requesting his majesty to resign Hanover to him, as then the English would never more chuse a king from that place.

[30] The orders enjoining the persons who frequented the prince's court to abstain from appearing at St. James's had been, at the beginning of 1738, more strictly enforced.

[31] The Spanish proverb is well known, “ War with
 “ all the world, but peace with England.”

[32] By that contract it was stipulated that the English should be permitted to send annually a ship to the Spanish possessions in the South seas, with negroes and other merchandise, during a term of thirty years.

[33] The procrastinations of the Spanish court are acknowledged in Rouffet's Recueil, &c. tom. XIII. p. 2. printed in 1740, and containing the principal pieces relative to this negotiation. It is there positively asserted, that the British minister was duped by those of the opposite court, and his impatience was only equalled by their affected delays.

[34] This

[34] This speech of lord Chesterfield's is one of those which were chosen by Rouffet to be inserted in his *Recueil*, as containing the principal arguments urged by the English in support of their pretensions, but the translation is by no means worthy of the original.

[35] Upon the division, there were of the members present 71 content and 58 not content, and of the proxies 24 content and 16 not content. The total majority was therefore only 21.

[36] As Sir Robert's and lord Chesterfield's houses were situated opposite to each other in St. James's square, lord Scarborough was often seen going directly from the friend to the minister; and such was the opinion entertained by both of his integrity, that he never met on this account with the least controul or censure from either.

[37] He had two strokes of apoplexy or palsy, which, in the opinion of lord Chesterfield, considerably affected both his body and his mind.

[38] His body was found surrounded with several books, which he had brought into the room, and piled about him, with the pistol in his mouth.

[39] I have sufficient authority to contradict the reports that were spread about the cause of this fatal resolution. The friend who knew him best, considered it merely as the effect of some distemper. Suicide never had an advocate in lord Chesterfield, but he was temperate in his censures, and ready to make allowances for it.

[40] See Letter CCXII. to his son.

[41] There is something very delicate, even in point of language, in the following sentence. "We have not been injured, but we have been slighted, which is worse; because a slight proceeds always from contempt, whereas an injury proceeds often from fear."

[42] "As to the pension," says the author of *Faction detected*, p. 59, 60. "it is a bill allowed in private by all parties to be impossible to take effect—it is for the interest of the public it should never pass into a law, and was never desired by any man of sense that it should; and yet it is for the interest of the public that it should be frequently proposed in the house of commons."

[43] One

[43] One morning, says the bishop of Waterford, that I was with him, his lordship was expressing how much he was concerned that I was so long without having better preferment, he at once told me in his joking manner; Well, I have just thought of a way, by which I am sure you'll succeed with Sir Robert; go and tell him from me that I will accept of the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, I am sure he will then procure you a good living from the crown.

[44] Too anxious for the public weal,
Suspend, my lord, the noble strife;
Oh! think, while Britain claims thy zeal,
Thy friends and Britain claim thy life.

Thy generous, free, exalted mind,
Inspir'd with freedom's sacred flame,
Glow with such warmth for human kind,
The heat impairs thy manly frame.

Happy the man whom reason draws
To settle in the golden mean;
Who scorns fantastic fortune's laws,
And laughs at flatt'ry's gaudy train.

Who eagle-like from virtue's height
The less'ning pomp of courts surveys,
Or like the bee, with happy flight,
Amidst the sweets of beauty plays.

Thus have I, at the noontide hour,
In senates seen thee great appear,
Ere night reclin'd, beneath the bow'r
Repeat thy vows in Myra's ear.

So the great thunderer above
(The rebel sons of earth suppress)
Flew on the silver plumes of love,
To find repose on Leda's breast.

[45] Case of Hanover forces, p. 21—24.

[46] In a letter to his son (CCLIX), he compares that prince's court to that of Augustus, and adds, that in his capital "he would see, full as well as Horace did at Rome, how states are defended by arms, adorned by manners, and improved by laws." In return, this darling son was received with great civility by the Prussian monarch; and I am told, that upon the representation of some of his courtiers concerning the disadvantages of his birth, he answered with warmth; Were he lord Chesterfield's dog, I would have him treated in the most distinguished manner.

[47] Sister to the cardinal of that name, and herself the great protectress of men of letters and wit.

[48] The opinion entertained of the English at the first breaking out of the war, is in a most lively manner expressed in the subjoined extract of a letter, dated Bourdeaux, March 6, 1740. "Que dites-vous des Anglois? Voyez comme ils couvrent toutes les mers. C'est une grande baleine; *et totum sub pectore possidet æquor.* La reine d'Espagne a appris à toute l'Europe un grand secret, c'est que les Indes qu'on croyoit attachées à l'Espagne par cent mille chaines ne tiennent qu'à un fil." This came from a Frenchman, but that Frenchman was Montesquieu. See his letter to the marquis Nicolini, printed 1767, p. 29.

[49] See lord Bathurst's speech in the debate December 4, 1741.

[50] This is affirmed in a much stronger manner in the well-known pamphlet ascribed to lord Granville, and entitled, Examination of the Principles, &c. of the Two Brothers, &c. p. 4.

[51] What lord Chesterfield's sentiments were on this occasion appears from the following extract of one of his lordship's letters. "Your friend, but not our friend, is set out to-day for his country-seat—torn from the king by the majority of parliament, and at the same time loaded with fresh marks of his favour, such as the title of earl, a considerable pension, places for his friends and dependents.—His retreat does not look as if it would be a very quiet one—" Our earl was heated when he wrote this. He afterwards did more justice to the great
qualitie

qualities of his antagonist. It shews however that his opposition was founded on principle. He certainly was in earnest in the part he took in the debates about the indemnification bill.

[52] "Sixteen unfortunate and inglorious years since his removal have already written his elogium." This was indisputably true in 1758. See Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 132.

[53] This was most ingeniously done in the application made of Tully's famous comparison between Cæsar and Antony with his associate, at the head of the above-mentioned pamphlet. "An vos estis ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore quod cogitarat, effecerat; muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, multitudinem imperitam delenierat, suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie devinxerat—quid multa; attulerat jam liberæ civitati, partim metu, partim patientia, consuetudinem serviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupidine comparare possum, cæteris vero rebus nullo modo estis comparandi." Cicero Philippic.

[54] The following information I received from the bishop of Waterford. "Lord Chesterfield spoke to me of him as of one who had not been true to his party. He said, that the last time that he was at a large meeting of the most considerable members of the opposition, to clear himself of the suspicions he lay under, he declared to them in a solemn manner that he was for the broad bottom in the largest sense, and that he would never take any step without acquainting them of it; upon which it was observed, that as they could not always meet together, a particular person should be appointed to take his information, and in consequence the duke of Argyll was named and agreed to; but Mr. Pulteney never went to him afterwards." Very different accounts of this remarkable conference are given by the author of *Faction detected*, &c. p. 45. and the author of the answer, entitled, *A Defence of the people*, &c. p. 83. But the latter seems more consistent, and agrees best with lord Chesterfield's account.

[55] Earl of Bath.

[56] Thus

[56] Thus he wrote to his favourite chaplain immediately on the revolution. "The public has assigned me different employments, and among others that which you mention (the lord lieutenancy of Ireland), but I have been offered none, I have asked for none, and I will accept of none, till I see a little clearer into matters than I do at present. I have opposed measures, not men, and the change of two or three men only is not a sufficient pledge to me that measures will be changed, nay rather an indication that they will not, and I am sure no employment whatsoever shall prevail with me to support measures I have so justly opposed. A good conscience is in my mind a better thing than the best employment, and I will not have the latter, till I can keep it with the former: when that can be, I shall not decline a public life, though in truth more inclined to a private one." What may appear dark in this letter, which was dated March 6, 1742, will soon be cleared up from his lordship's constant opposition to burthensome continental measures, which he looked upon as the compound effects of self-interest and intoxication. In the pamphlet which I have already quoted so often, as containing our earl's political creed, I find these words: "The parliament met under the greatest concern and astonishment at the Hanover neutrality, at the Spaniards reigning triumphant over the Mediterranean, at the inactivity of our fleet there; with the most sensible concern for the deplorable situation to which the house of Austria was reduced, and with the most sincere disposition to act vigorously and effectually in her behalf. But nobody was sanguine, I should say desperate, enough to imagine that this mighty enterprise could be accomplished by the strength or at the expence of England ALONE!" *Case of the Hanover forces*, p. 43.

[57] It is entitled, *An Ode to a great Number of Great Men lately made*, and contains among others the following stanzas:

See a new progeny descends
From heaven of Britain's truest friends,
O Muse, attend my call!

To

To one of these direct my flight;
Or, to be sure that we are right,
Direct it to them all.

But first to C— fain you'd sing,
Indeed he's nearest to the king,
Yet careless how you use him:
Give him, I beg, no labour'd lays,
He will but promise if you please,
And laugh if you abuse him.

Then (but there's a vast space betwixt)
The new-made e— of B— comes next,
Stiff in his popular pride:
His step, his gait, describe the man,
They paint him better than I can,
Waddling from side to side.

Each hour a different face he wears,
Now in a fury, now in tears,
Now laughing, now in sorrow,
Now he'll command, and now obey,
Bellows for liberty to-day,
And roars for power to-morrow.

At noon the Tories had him tight,
With staunchest Whigs he supp'd at night,
Each party thought t' have won him:
But he himself did so divide,
Shuffled and cut from side to side,
That now both parties shun him.

See yon old dull important lord,
Who at the long'd-for money board
Sits first, but does not lead:
His younger brethren all things make,
So that the treasury's like a snake,
Whose tail impels the head.

The valiant C—, valorous S—,
Britain's two thunderbolts of war,
Still strike my ravish'd eye;

But

But oh! their strength and spirit's flown,
 They, like their conqu'ring swords, are grown
 Rusty by lying by.

- - - - -
 More changes better times this isle
 Demands, oh! Chesterfield, Argyll,
 To bleeding Britain bring 'em;
 Unite all hearts, appease each storm,
 'Tis yours such actions to perform,
 My pride shall be to sing 'em.

[58] He meant lord Hervey, who in speaking against this bill, and on many other occasions, had defended the late minister. He continued so to do, after he had lost, under the present administration, his place of lord privy seal.

[59] The motion to exonerate the nation of the charge and burden of the mercenaries, was introduced by lord Chesterfield's kinsman, the earl of Stanhope, son to the great minister of the same name.

[60] See the French letter, which his lordship wrote to the king on resigning his employments, and which was printed in Germany. It deserves to be preserved on many accounts, and will therefore be inserted at the end of the volume.

[61] “ The pacific ministers were the men who opposed
 “ this pacific measure, in which both the king, himself,
 “ and Granville, would have willingly consented if it had
 “ not been rejected by them, to whom it was sent over for
 “ their approbation. You will hardly think it possible
 “ for the two brothers to have been the authors of con-
 “ tinuing the war, which might have been happily and
 “ honourably ended at that time—much less that they
 “ should be able, at the same time, not only to conceal this
 “ fact, but to charge it on their rival with success—This
 “ was followed by the strongest opposition to the treaty of
 “ Worms. Examination of the principles, &c. of the
 two brothers, p. 8, 9.

[62] Apology for a late resignation, p. 5.

[63] He inveighed in a particular manner against the pamphlet called the *Case of the Hanover forces*, from whence

whence he said the speakers on the other side, and in particular Mr. Pitt, derived their principal arguments.

[64] Soon afterwards earl of Egmont.

[65] Lord Morton, in his speech, made a handsome encomium of the late minister. He commended his character as a friend, his abilities as a statesman. He regretted his loss, and exclaimed against those who had deprived his country of such a support. As the ministers complained of the scurrility and abuse with which their conduct and persons were aspersed in weekly libels, he severely arraigned them for having introduced and encouraged that licentiousness of public prints, and condemned them to suffer unpitied that pain which they had inflicted upon their predecessors, and by their example teach their successors, that every act of wickedness at last is practised against its inventor.

[66] The motion for presenting an address to the king on that occasion, was made by the earl of Orford, who spoke for the first time in the house of peers, and animadverted upon the new ministry, for not having been the first introducers of such an address. He expressed in warm and affecting terms his gratitude and zeal for a master whom he had served so long, and so tenderly loved.

[67] Burnet's Memoirs of his own times, vol. II. p. 522.

[68] See Plut. in Phocyon.

[69] "Nec vero me fugit, quam sit acerbum, parentum
"scelera filiorum poenis lui. Sed hoc præclare legibus
"comparatum est, ut caritas liberorum amiciores parentes
"reipublicæ redderet. Itaque Lepidus crudelis in liberos,
"non is qui Lepidum hostem judicat." Epist. ad Brutum
XVI. And in XIX. "Videtur ipse illud crudele, quod ad
"liberos qui nihil meruerunt, poena pervenit, sed id et an-
"tiquum est, et omnium civitatum; siquidem etiam
"Themistoclis liberi eguerunt."

[70] This book was published for the first time in the beginning of 1745; it was reprinted in 1746, and the last edition appeared in 1748. The copy of this edition belonging to Dr. Birch and bequeathed to the British Museum, was a present to him from the author. This performance is mentioned by the said friend as "a single work
"indeed, and composed at a very early age, but decisive
"of

“ of a grand question of law, and sanction of govern-
 “ ment, the grounds of which had never before been
 “ stated with due precision.” See Dr. Birch’s dedication
 to Charles Yorke, esq; then attorney general, prefixed to
 the *Letters, Speeches, &c. of lord Chancellor Bacon* publish-
 ed by him and printed in 1763.

[71] The Biographical Dictionary, and Parliamentary Register, place Mr. Hammond’s death in 1742.

[72] *Love elegies* written in 1732, published in 1743. The preface will be found among his lordship’s miscellane-
 ous pieces. The reason why the noble editor did not
 put his name to the publication, may have been his
 friend’s encomium of him in the following stanzas of the
 13th elegy :

Stanhope in wisdom as in wit divine
 May rise and plead Britannia’s glorious cause;
 With steady rein his eager wit confine,
 While manly sense the deep attention draws.

Let Stanhope speak his list’ning country’s wrong,
 My humble voice shall please one partial maid;
 For her alone I pen my tender song,
 Securely sitting in his friendly shade.

Stanhope shall come and grace his rural friend,
 Delia shall wonder at her noble guest :
 With blushing awe the riper fruit commend,
 And for her husband’s patron cull the best.

[73] This appears from several of his letters; and in
 particular from the following extract of one to his friend
 baron de Kreuninghen at the Hague, dated July 7, 1752.
 “ I will maintain to the face of all the pedants in the uni-
 “ verse, that Pope’s epistles and satires have all the good
 “ sense and precision of Horace’s, with a thousand times
 “ more wit.” See letters in this collection, book I. Let.
 XCVIII.

[74] Epilogue to the satires written in 1738. Under
 these lines stands this note of the learned prelate, whose
 illustrations adorn the works of his friend. “ Philip earl
 “ of

“ of Chesterfield, commonly given by writers of all parties for an example to the age he lives in, of superior talents and public virtue ;” to which I shall add the following lines from the bishop’s ingenious friend Dr. Brown, in his essay prefixed to Mr. Pope’s satires, wherein he says that poet

“ Now with a muse more sacred and refin’d

“ Calls forth a Chesterfield’s or Lonsdale’s mind.”

[75] See Mr. Pope’s epistle on the characters of women.

[76] “ Her grace desires Mr. Glover and Mr. Mallet may write the history of the duke of Marlborough, that it may be known to the world how truly the late duke wished that justice should be done to all mankind, who, her grace was sure, left king James with great regret, at a time when it was plain it was with hazard to himself, and if he had been like the patriots of the present times, he might have been all that an ambitious man could have hoped for, by assisting king James to settle popery in England. Her grace says she should be extremely obliged to the earl of Chesterfield, who never had any call to give himself any trouble about her, if he would comply with her very earnest request, which is, that he will direct the two persons above-mentioned, who are to write the said history, which she is extremely desirous should be done well. Her grace desires that no part of the said history be in verse, and that it may not begin in the usual form of histories, but only from the revolution. And she directs that the said history shall, before it is printed, have the approbation of the earl of Chesterfield, and all her executors, &c.” Her grace’s intentions were however completely frustrated. Mr. Glover soon desisted from this undertaking, and resigned his share to his colleague Mr. Mallet. This last gentleman, very equal to the task, and abundantly furnished with family papers, foreign intelligence, and all kind of private information, died in 1765, without having made any great progress in the work ; at least very few fragments were found among his papers.

[77] This worthy minister unhappily exchanged the olive for the laurel, being killed in 1746 at the battle of Rocoux.

[78] The

[78] The allied army, commanded by marshal Wade, was composed of 22,000 English, 16,000 Hanoverians, 12,000 Austrians, and 35,000 Dutch, in all, 85,000, the finest troops that ever were brought into the field. The French left marshal Saxe with a body only of 38,000 men, their garrisons being totally drained of troops, and wholly unprovided for a siege. Conduct of the two brothers, p. 13, 14.

[79] See the *Conduct of the two brothers*, &c. p. 14, 15.

[80] This was strongly expressed in the following French lines, which came from the camp of the enemy :

“ Dans les plaines de Lisle exemptes de carnage,

“ Il est un camp fameux en illustres guerriers ;

“ Bellone chaque jour les conduit au fourage,

“ Et leur donne du foin en guise de lauriers.”

The French garrison at Lisle displays their wit, at the expence of the inactive warriors they could see from their walls. Harlequin was introduced upon the stage, strutting along with great pomp, and in a characteristic dress, with a bundle of letters under each arm. Being asked what he had under the right, he answered *orders*, and what under the left, with equal solemnity, *counter-orders*. This, I am told, was exactly the fact, except that both the orders and counter-orders were in the same letters ; the former in the body, and the latter in the postscript.

[81] “ His lordship told me once that many lies had
“ been told of him to the king, and with such circumstan-
“ ces, that he was not surpris'd that his majesty believed
“ them.” Letter from the bishop of Waterford.

NOTES OF SECTION V.

[1] **C**ASE of the Hanover forces, &c. p. 50, 51.

[2] Ibid. p. 45. 48.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Apology for a late resignation, p. 13.

[5] Case of the Hanover forces, p. 53.

[6] Apology, &c. p. 9.

[7] Ibid. p. 12.

[8] “Abbé de la Ville had abilities, temper, and industry. We could not visit, our two masters being at war; but the first time I met him at a third place, I got somebody to present me to him; and I told him, that though we were to be national enemies, I flattered myself we might, however, be personal friends. Two days afterwards, I went early to solicit the deputies of Amsterdam, where I found abbé de la Ville, who had been before hand with me; upon which I addressed myself to the deputies, and said smilingly, *I am very sorry, gentlemen, to find my enemy with you; my knowing of his capacity is already sufficient to fear him: we are not upon equal terms, but I trust to your own interests against his talents; if I have not had this day the first word, I shall at least have the last.* They smiled; the abbé was pleased with the compliment, and the manner of it. He stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then left me to my deputies, with whom I continued upon the same tone, though in a very serious manner; that I was only come to state their own true interests to them, plainly and simply, without any of those arts which it was necessary for my friend to make use of to deceive them. I carried my point, and continued my *procédé* with the abbé; and by this easy and polite commerce with him at third places, I often found means to fish

“out

“ out from him whereabouts he was.” Lord Chesterfield’s Letters to his son, letter CCLVIII. See likewise letter CCXCII. where he adds very judiciously, “ There is not
 “ a more prudent maxim than to live with one’s enemies
 “ as if they may one day become one’s friends, as it com-
 “ monly happens, sooner or later, in the vicissitudes of
 “ political affairs.”

[9] “ The abbé de la Ville and I were at once friends
 “ and enemies at the Hague; and it was not our fault if
 “ we had not a peace four years ago.” Letter of lord Chesterfield, dated March 12, 1749, see book I. Lett. XXXIV.

[10] That this was the common opinion among the people is sufficiently acknowledged in all the histories of the times; and the famous Rouffet is said to have been the principal promoter of that report. See *Vaderlandsche Historie*, vol. XX. p. 32, 33.

[11] When the duke of Cumberland was appointed to this command, he was only considered as the nominal commander, on account of his inexperience and great youth. Marshal Königsegg was in reality the commander in chief, as he was then called *à latere*.

[12] Examination of the conduct of the two Brothers, &c. p. 29.

[13] The following anecdote I received from the bishop of Waterford. In consequence of the plan that had been concerted, as soon as the siege of Tournay was begun, lord Chesterfield received a letter from marshal Königsegg the Austrian commander, acquainting him, that such a day the confederate army were to *move*, which was the word that had been agreed upon between them to express the intended attack. His excellency, upon receiving this letter, waited on the States General, to acquaint them with the contents. He mentioned the same day at his table the news of the approaching action. Three officers were present, who, upon hearing this, as soon as dinner was over, set out immediately for Flanders, and arrived at Fontenoy the day before the battle was fought; and one of them, the son of Sir John Vanbrugh, was wounded in the action by a ball, which was quite flattened on the side that struck against his thigh-bone, and yet, what is remarkable, without breaking it. This extraordinary particular was communicated by a friend, who saw and

examined the ball after the surgeon had extracted it from the wound, of which this ingenious and promising officer died a few days after the battle.

[14] Copy of a letter from lord Bolingbroke to Sir Everard Fawkner, secretary to his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, dated Battersea, May 14, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

YOU have had letters, I doubt not, on the late unfortunate event from all your friends who are in the world; it is time, therefore, that you should hear on the same occasion from one who is out of it. You know that no one can take a warmer part than I do in all that concerns the interest and honour of this country. Neither a long proscription, nor losses, nor mortifications of every kind, can make me indifferent to them. The sentiment is natural and habitual too in me. The disappointment of his royal highness before Tournay, and the loss of so many brave men, grieve me to the soul. I call it a disappointment, for the duke, the British, and the Hanoverian troops cannot be said properly to have been defeated. The common cause suffers, but our national honour is advanced; and that of the young hero you serve, rises above all the examples we have had since our black prince and Henry the fifth. There is comfort in these considerations for the past, and hope for what is to come. The courage and conduct he shewed in the action, make him an object of admiration to all the world, and the compassionate tears he shed after it, gave them a new lustre in my sense. Both one and the other endear him to the people among whom he was born, for whom he fights, and for whom he feels.—God prosper him! I was sorry that your hurry of business and my retired life, hindered me from embracing you at your departure. But wherever you go, my best wishes accompany you, and every affectionate sentiment that can flow from the heart of one who is, dear sir,

Your sincere friend,

and most obedient humble servant,

BOLINGBROKE.

[15] Conduct

[15] Conduct of the two Brothers, p. 42.

[16] The great share which the Irish brigade had in the success of the day was fully ascertained by one of their most respectable countrymen, colonel Dromgold. He published two letters in French, on purpose to expose the fallacious account given by Voltaire, in his poem on the battle of Fontenoy; a poem which lord Chesterfield, notwithstanding his partiality to the author, very wittily ridiculed in one of his French letters. See book I. lett. XIV. of this collection.

[17] Both the speech and the letter will be inserted in this volume.

[18] Lord Chesterfield was one of them, as lord lieutenant of Ireland and privy-counsellor.

[19] This conquest was certainly of great importance, and in the end procured peace; but it was magnified to such a degree, that the noble duke, then at the head of the admiralty, declared, *that if France was master of Portsmouth, he would hang the man who should give up Cape Breton in exchange of it.* Apology for a late Resignation, p. 14.

[20] Ibid p. 13.

[21] Second Series of Facts and Arguments, &c. p. 39.

[22] Ibid. p. 43. 45.

[23] Ibid. p. 44.

[24] Lord Chesterfield alluded to the raising of these regiments in his humorous petition to the king, re-printed at the end of the collection of letters to his son, "Your petitioner raised sixteen companies of one hundred men each, at the public expence, in support of your majesty's undoubted right to the imperial crown of these realms."

[25] Letter CCLXXIV.

[26] From the bishop of Waterford's letters, who adds the following circumstance. "A person, when he was in this kingdom, asked him one day, how he could go through so much business; and received this answer, *because I never put off to to-morrow what I can do to-day.*"

[27] From the same.

[28] It will be found among his lordship's miscellaneous pieces.

[29] A zealous protestant, thinking to pay his court to the lord lieutenant, came to inform him, that one of his coachmen was a Roman catholic, and privately went to mass. *Does he indeed?* said his lordship; *well, I will take care he shall never carry me there.*

[30] The dean's famous letters under that name are sufficiently known.

[31] An instance of his lordship's calmness and presence of mind on this occasion has been given me by the bishop of Waterford. "I cannot, says he, forbear to mention a pun of his lordship's, which shews his quickness at repartee, and that he had the best informations of the dispositions of the Roman catholics, and was not afraid of them. The vice-treasurer, Mr. Gardiner, a man of a good character and a considerable fortune, waited upon him one morning, and in a great fright told him, that he was assured, upon good authority, that the people in the province of Connaught were actually rising. Upon which lord Chesterfield took out his watch, and with great composure answered him, *It is nine o'clock, and certainly time for them to rise; I therefore believe your news to be true.*"

[32] The following information, which gives a singular instance of lord Chesterfield's vigilance in his vice-royalty, has been communicated by the bishop of Waterford. It is given in the words of the gallant and active captain Mercer, from whom the information comes

In the year 1745, captain Mercer was ordered to convoy the earl of Chesterfield from Holyhead to his government of Ireland, where he landed on the 31st of August. In November following, a large fleet of East India-men arrived in the harbour of Galway, where his excellency and the commissioners thought proper to send down a number of revenue officers, to prevent smuggling. On which occasion most of captain Mercer's crew and officers were sent on that service by land, and his vessel unrigged and laid up. But lord Chesterfield having received letters from Belfast, in the county of Antrim, that the rebels had taken possession of Glasgow; and that there were three or four hundred boats assembled off Air, Irwin, and Salt Coats, which were but a small distance from the Irish coast, people were much alarmed, lest an invasion

vasion was intended, and hoped for some assistance by sea. Their fears were so great, that they were even burying their linen, plate, &c. under ground; and no men of war being then on the Irish coast, his excellency sent for captain Mercer late at night, and informed him of the melancholy accounts he had received; and that he knew of no means which could so speedily ease the people's minds as his sailing directly to Belfast, to find out the design of that large fleet of boats, and to give the natives every consolation and assistance in his power. Captain Mercer told his excellency, that his ship was unrigged, his officers and crew at Galway, and that he had no method of sailing but by shipping a new crew, which must be done by approbation of the board of revenue. Lord Chesterfield, though it was then very late at night, had Mr. Gray, one of the commissioners, raised out of bed to give the necessary orders, and afterwards hoped captain Mercer would be equipped in a few days. Immediately captain Mercer, with the few men he had left and some assistants, began to rig his ship and get provisions on board, and the next morning was so lucky as to have shipped a compleat crew, when he waited upon his excellency, to inform him he was ready to sail, and only waited his commands; which were, to gain every intelligence of the rebels motions, and to deliver dispatches from the lords of the admiralty to two sloops of war, commanded by the captains Duff and Knowell, which were cruising between the Clyde and the isle of Man, to prevent spirits or any other liquors going from thence to the rebels. He was fortunate enough to fall in with them the next day, and then stood over to the coast of Scotland, where he discovered that the fleet of boats, which had so much alarmed the people on the Northern coast of Ireland, were only fishing for herrings. This intelligence, in a great measure, dissipated their fears, and captain Mercer continued on that station till the spring of the year, giving lord Chesterfield every intelligence he could receive by keeping up a correspondence with general Campbell, father to the present duke of Argyll, who arrived soon after with a frigate of war and two transports laden with arms and money, to raise and pay the Argyllshire militia.

In

In the month of April, the rebels quitted the west of Scotland, and captain Mercer was ordered to convoy his excellency the earl of Chesterfield to Chester, where, soon after their landing, they received intelligence of the duke of Cumberland having totally defeated the rebels at Culloden.

Captain Mercer commanded at that time a small frigate of ten guns and fifty men, in the service of the revenue.

[33] Rolt's History of the last War.

[34] Chiefly from the bishop of Waterford's information.

[35] By that act, all popish estates, at the death of the late popish possessor, are divided in equal parts, share and share alike, among his popish relations who are the nearest of kin, if they all continue in their religion; but if one of them turn protestant, he becomes the heir at law. As lord Chesterfield approved of that act, I cannot help thinking that even he himself was not absolutely free from all prejudices on that subject.

[36] Lord Chesterfield's letters to the bishop of Waterford, book III. letter XXXI.

[37] Ibid. book III. letter XXI.

[38] From private information of the bishop of Waterford.

[39] The following fact, which may be depended upon, is a proof of this assertion. A very considerable gentleman of the county of Kerry, and member of parliament, was indebted to a neighbouring tradesman, who had frequently applied to him for the payment of his just demand. The tradesman going one day to the gentleman's house to renew his application, the latter ordered his servants to tie him to the pump and horsewhip him. These orders were obeyed with the utmost severity. The poor man came up to Dublin with his complaints to the lord lieutenant, who immediately directed a special commission of oyer and terminer to repair to that county and try the cause; the consequence of which was, that the gentleman was fined in a very heavy penalty.

[40] This young nobleman died of the small-pox at Paris, to the inexpressible regret of his mother, who, to the day of her death, never forgave herself not having had him inoculated.

[41] To

[41] To her was addressed a copy of verses by Mr. Jones a bricklayer, who had complimented lord Chesterfield on his arrival at Dublin, and now took occasion of her ladyship's obtaining a pardon for two deserters, to pay his respects to her.

[42] Stanhope each purpose of his breast

To gen'rous views consign'd;

And chose his method to be blest,

By blessing all mankind.

Stanhope, though high thy transports glow,

To one false step descend;

Or you'll incur the dang'rous woe

Of him whom all commend.

[43] Lord Chesterfield, in a letter he wrote to the duke in the beginning of 1746, expressed himself in this remarkable manner: "As Scotland has been the *cradle*, I
" most earnestly wish and hope it will become the *grave*
" of the rebellion, under the auspicious command of
" your royal highness."

[44] Lord Chesterfield did not join with the ministers in this measure; for though he was very much attached to his friends in administration, he knew his duty to his sovereign, in the station he then filled, too well to have taken so unjustifiable a step. After his lordship was become secretary of state, and was in some measure restored to his former intercourse with his old master; the king, talking of what had passed, and in particular complaining of the ill treatment of his ministers at that time, took occasion to ask his lordship in a kind manner, whether he would have continued in his service if lord Granville had not given up the seals. To this lord Chesterfield very candidly replied, "Sir, nothing should have tempted me to have quitted your majesty's service while I
" was in Ireland, and a rebellion raging in your dominions. I think you might have very justly tried me
" by martial law for quitting my post. It is certainly
" true, sir, that it was my resolution, as soon as I returned to your majesty's presence, to beg your permission
" to quit your service." This frank declaration was so far

far from displeasing the monarch, that he graciously said, "My lord, I was always sure you would act like a man of honour."

[45] The rev. Mr. Codere, minister of the French chapel in Berwick-street.

[46] Letters to his son, letter LXXVI.

[47] French letters in this collection, book I. letter XIV.

[48] The character which lord Chesterfield gave to a female correspondent of that gentleman's qualifications (Ibid. let. XIV.) shews sufficiently the impropriety of the choice. We shall have opportunities of adding some touches to the picture.

[49] Letters to his son.

[50] An instance of this happened soon after our earl was appointed secretary of state. One of the greatest places had been allotted by the reigning minister to a person whom the king particularly disliked. He refused to consent to the nomination, and he did it in so peremptory a manner, that none of the members of the cabinet dared to speak to him any more about it. Lord Chesterfield was desired to undertake it; and one morning he waited upon the king with the commission ready to be filled up. As soon as he mentioned the name, the monarch angrily refused, and said, *I would rather have the devil.* With all my heart, replied the earl, I only beg leave to put your majesty in mind, that the commission is indited *to our right-trusty and right well-beloved cousin.* This sally had its effect; the king laughed, and said, *My lord, do as you please.*

[51] Apology, &c. p. 22.

[52] Lord Harrington had lost all credit with the king from the time he had joined in the resignation with the rest of the ministers; and his majesty finding the opportunity favourable to his wishes, was determined to get rid of him. He carried his resentment so far, that it was with the utmost difficulty Mr. Pelham and the rest of the administration could prevail on his majesty to suffer him to succeed lord Chesterfield as lord lieutenant of Ireland.

[53] Apology, &c.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Letters to his son, letter LXXXIV.

[56] The

[56] The profit he made is humorously stated in one of his letters to the bishop of Waterford. “ I can assure you, I got five hundred pounds clear upon the whole.”

[57] Conduct of the Two Brothers, &c. p. 48. In the sequel to that pamphlet, which like the former came from a Granvillian and a well informed author, the same thing is repeated with the following insinuation. “ In plain English, one cannot help supposing that it was partly in compliment to H. R. H. the duke that the resolution was taken to prolong the war, and that as he had not the honour of commanding the allies this year, we con- nived at the losses of it, and kept our strength in reserve, to render him so much the more illustrious, by the efforts of the next.”—*Second Series*, p. 46.

[58] The letter is dated Breda, Nov. 20, 1746, and signed Wassenaer. “ Dans le moment le comte de Sand- wick sort de chez moi, ou il a eu la bonté de venir m’ap- prendre une nouvelle, qui en tout tems, mais surtout dans la circonstance présente ne peut que me causer une joye inexprimable. J’ai vû, milord, avec la plus agréable surprise au bas de ses dépêches le nom de l’homme que je respecte, que j’admire, et permettez moi de trancher le mot que j’aime le plus, le nom de Chesterfield—M. le conseiller pensionnaire (Gilles) à qui ja’i eu le plaisir d’en apprendre la première nouvelle, m’en a temoigné son extrême contentement, et sent comme moi toute l’influence que votre heureuse entrée dans le ministère doit avoir, sur les affaires du tems—Jamais la situation de la republique ne fût plus déplorable. Son état politique et militaire, celui de ses finances, vous est parfaitement connu. Nous sommes peut être à la veille d’être boule- versés, si l’Angleterre n’être meilleure et n’être plus fi- dèle alliée, et la plus intéressée à n’être existence, ne prévient notre ruine: le tems est infiniment précieux; daignez, mylord, employer tous vos soins et vos efforts pour nous faire parvenir au grand but qui nous rassem- ble ici: le plaisir inexprimable d’avoir rendu le repos à l’Europe sera votre récompense, et votre nom sera en bénédiction à tous les peuples. Nous aurons en particu- lier la satisfaction de devoir notre bonheur à l’ami de la republique.”

[59] Apo-

[59] Apology, &c. p. 27.

[60] Ibid. p. 26.

[61] Lord Chesterfield had ever shewn great friendship for that gentleman, who was very much attached to his lordship.—He took him over to Ireland, and gave him the office of black rod, during the time of his residence there.

[62] Conduct of the two brothers, p. 60, 61.

[63] Vaderlandsche historie, vol. XX. p. 105.

[64] Conduct, &c.

[65] Apology, &c. p. 29.

[66] The king of France's expression is said to have been, "He! Bien Monsieur de Ligonier, quand est ce que le roy votre maitre nous donnera la paix?—Well, general Ligonier, when will the king your master grant us peace?"

[67] He was the only minister in the cabinet who had, upon principle, contended for the necessity of coming to a speedy accommodation, *Second series*, &c. p. 48. Nothing could be more honourable to lord Chesterfield than this testimony from a rival, whom he had contributed to remove.

[68] Though this expression was borrowed from the object of lord Chesterfield's strongest passion, it must be observed to this honour, that he strictly kept to the rule which he had dictated to himself in Ireland, and never played till he was out of the ministry.

[69] Vaderlandsche historie, vol. XX. p. 159, 160.

[70] Letter to Mr. Dayrolles.

[71] Vaderl. hist. ibid.

[72] See lord Chesterfield's French letters in this collection.

[73] Examination, &c. p. 70.

[74] Apology, &c. p. 35, 36.

[75] This gentleman had held conferences before that time with lord Ligonier while in Flanders, and his lordship was directed by the English ministry to desire him to repair to London in the most secret manner.

[76] Apology, &c. p. 37—44. See likewise the other pamphlets which I have quoted before, and which were published by writers perfectly well informed.

[78] In

[77] In a manuscript letter to Dr. Birch, dated Thersfield, Nov. 28, 1748, I find some interesting particulars, which the author had from Mr. Horace Walpole, with whom he was very intimate. “ I met my great and good
 “ friend Mr. Walpole on the road, and have had a voluminous correspondence this summer with him—You
 “ shall have a few broken hints.—I think I have informed
 “ you of my perusing Mr. Walpole’s letters or rather
 “ memorials to the duke, and a very ample one to the
 “ duke of Newcastle. You have seen the answer to bishop Sherlock’s colours and excuses for continuing the
 “ war last year, and his absurd notion of France, which
 “ I represented and enforced in order to provoke him to
 “ this work. It has been communicated to several persons
 “ of distinction. Chesterfield was eager for its being
 “ printed. But though Mr. Walpole is willing to give salutary instructions and informations, he abhorreth all
 “ public offence. Though Mr. Walpole’s papers contradicted the king’s and the duke’s humour, H. R. H. was
 “ not offended with the address, but only on hearing they
 “ had been imparted to others. However, Mr. Walpole
 “ had a conference of more than two hours with the
 “ duke. H. R. H. was prepared, and managed with
 “ great art. As it was principal, I will only mention
 “ what passed relative to Prussia. Mr. Walpole strongly
 “ insisted on this power being gained, and observed how
 “ improper and faint all attempts had been. As the necessity was plain and pregnant, all who had access and
 “ interest with the king should talk in this absolute pressing
 “ strain. This was done in a less considerable instance.
 “ When Granville became intolerable and impracticable,
 “ all the ministers were absolute and peremptory. The
 “ duke replied with resentment, that he hoped never again
 “ to see his royal father have such usage. Mr. Walpole rejoined what he suggested might be done strongly and
 “ decisively, without giving offence. In order to draw the
 “ real attention and confidence of Prussia, the affair should
 “ be communicated to parliament. This would be popular, and produce the strongest votes. When his having
 “ been a little too forward and busy was insinuated,
 “ Mr. Walpole let him know that persons well affected and
 “ of consequence would have brought it into parliament,
 “ had

“ had it not been for his interposition. Mr. Walpole re-
 “ presented the sure and speedy conquests the French
 “ might make of the continent. What then would be-
 “ come of all his family? Every one would be for mak-
 “ ing their own compositions, and the rather as this was
 “ the effect of a known aversion to Prussia. The duke
 “ then mentioned Sir E. Fawkener’s being sent. Mr.
 “ Walpole said, the minister was not so material as the
 “ previous assurances and instructions. But he afterwards
 “ took occasion three times to inculcate H. R. H. going
 “ in person; and added, the affair would be thus com-
 “ pleted at Berlin in 24 hours. It could not be, or si-
 “ lence was the answer. Villiers, who is an able minis-
 “ ter, by Granville’s advice, refused to go. Chesterfield’s
 “ last work was to draw up Legge’s instructions; they
 “ were excellent. What alterations have been made I
 “ know not. Legge, that his errand might not be infig-
 “ nificant, has ventured to make offers, which have given
 “ offence.”

[78] Mr. George Stanhope, brother to earl Stanhope, had a regiment.

[79] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles.

NOTES OF SECTION VI.

[1] **A**RTHUR's Chocolate-house, formerly White's, from whence many of the Tatlers are dated. Lord Chesterfield being once asked, Why he never was seen at routs and assemblies? answered, That he never went to conventicles where there was an established church.

[2] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 342.

[3] French Letters in this collection, p. 85, 109.

[4] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 336.

[5] French Letters in this collection, p. 113.

[6] Ibid. p. 179—181.

[7] From private information.

[8] Letters to his son, vol. I. Lett. CXIX.

[9] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 335.

[10] Letters to his son, vol. I. Lett. CXXII.

[11] Ibid. vol. I. p. 350.

[12] “ Few things would mortify me more than to see
“ you bearing a part in a concert with a fiddle under your
“ chin, or a pipe in your mouth.” Ibid. vol. I. p. 366.

[13] Ibid. letter CLXXX.

[14] Ibid. vol. II. p. 425.

[15] This expression is frequently used in lord Chesterfield's letters to his son.

[16] The duke de Nivernois. Letters to his son, vol. I. p. 498.

[17, 18] In this collection, vol. II.

[19] Lord Chesterfield had, with some difficulty, succeeded in procuring him a prebend of Windsor.

[20] Mr. Stanhope was now nineteen years old, a time of life when these exertions became particularly necessary.

[21] For

[21] For the post of resident at Venice. See p. 202. of these Memoirs.

[22] “ Lord Macclesfield, who had the greatest share
“ in forming the bill, and who is one of the greatest ma-
“ thematicians and astronomers in Europe, spoke after-
“ wards with infinite knowledge and all the clearness that
“ so intricate a matter would admit of; but as his words,
“ his periods, and his utterance were not near so good as
“ mine, the preference was most unanimously, though
“ most unjustly, given to me.” Letters to his son, vol. II.
p. 118.

[23] French letters in this collection, p. 213.

[24] Marquis de Botta.

[25] Letters LXXVII. to Mr. Dayrolles in this collec-
tion.

[26] Letters to his son, vol. II. Lett. LXXXVII.

[27] French letters in this collection, p. 207.

[28] Ibid. p. 213.

[29] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 395.

[30] Letters to his son, vol. II. Lett. LXXX.

[31] Ibid. Lett. LXXII.

[32] Ibid. Lett. LXXVIII.

[33] Ibid. Lett. LXXX.

[34] Ibid. Lett. LXXXI.

[35] This gentleman signalized himself in the last war in America, and was second in command to Monsieur de Montcalm, governor of Canada. The account of his voyage round the world since that time may be seen in two publications; one by Dom. Pernetty, and the other more at large by himself.

[36] The original and translation are both found in this collection of miscellaneous pieces, p. 276—281.

[37] Lord Pawlett.

[38] Ibid. p. 417.

[39] Ibid. p. 418.

[40] Letters to Mr. Dayrolles, p. 422.

[41] Ibid. p. 425.

[42] The actual forces of these powers employed against Great Britain and her ally the king of Prussia, amounted to upwards of 800,000 men, exclusive of the whole maritime power of France.

The Austrian forces were computed at	300,000 men.
The French at	300,000
The Russians employed on this occasion,	150,000
The Saxons,	30,000
The Swedes,	25,000

In all, 805,000

[43] Letter CX. to his son, vol. II.

[44] Letters to his son, vol. II. letter CIII.

[45] “ I see by the news-papers, as well as by your letter, that the difficulty still subsists about your ceremonial at Ratisbon: should they, from pride and folly, prove insuperable, and obstruct your real business, there is one expedient, which may perhaps remove difficulties, and which I have often known practised; but which, I believe, our people here know nothing of: it is to have the character of *minister* only in the ostensible title, and that of envoy extraordinary in your pocket, to produce occasionally, especially if you should be sent to any of the electors in your neighbourhood; or else, in any transaction that you may have, in which your title as envoy-extraordinary may create great difficulties, to have a reversal given you, declaring, that the temporary suspension of that character, *ne donner a pas la moindre atteinte ni à vos droits, ni à vos pretentions.*”

Ibid. letter CXLVII.

[46] Ibid. letter CL.

[47] Ibid. letter CLXXIX. CLXXX. &c,

[48] “ You will not be in this parliament, at least not at the beginning of it. I relied too much upon lord C—’s promise, above a year ago at Bath.” Ibid. letter CXCIV.

[49] Ibid. letter CXCVI.

[50] He succeeded lord Stormont at the court of Vienna.

[51] Lord Chesterfield having suffered for a long time, and very severely, with the rheumatism, for which he had taken a variety of medicines without receiving any benefit, resolved at last to try the effect of calomel. He took five grains of it, and this producing no sensible alteration, he increased the dose in a day or two to seven. He was presently after seized with a salivation, the symptoms of which

which ran very high, and which his physician tried in vain to stop. It continued for six weeks; but at the end of that time his lordship was entirely free from his rheumatic pains, and never felt them afterwards.

[52] Letter XXXIX. to the bishop of Waterford, p. 504.

[53] Ibid. letter XLI. p. 507.

[54] Ibid. letter XLVII. p. 514.

[55] Ibid. letter XLVII. p. 514.

[56] Ibid. letter XIII. p. 471.

[57] They are found in the second volume from p. 541. to 549.

[58] So great was lord Chesterfield's influence in Ireland, that I have been informed, no person was ever seen drunk in public during the whole of his administration.

[59] Letters to Mr. Prior, p. 546.

[60] Letter L. to the bishop of Waterford.

[61] This is also the opinion of another philosophic and elegant writer of the present age, who seems to have pursued the same idea. But since Paraguay has been brought under the dominion of Spain, it has appeared, that the empire which these fathers have exercised in that extensive continent, has been founded on the most odious principles of tyranny; and that they had reduced the deluded and barbarous inhabitants of that fertile spot to the most abject state of slavery.

[62] See French letters in this collection, p. 233.

[63] All the estates that came from the late earl to his successor were annexed to the title by his will.

[64] Letter LIX. to the bishop of Waterford

[65] Mr. D'Eyverdun, a Swiss gentleman of good family and great abilities, recommended to lord Chesterfield by Mr. Dayrolles.

[66] See p. 154. of these memoirs.

[67] Letter XLVIII. to the bishop of Waterford.

[68] Ibid. letter LXI.

[69] The editor is obliged to Mr. Dayrolles for this information, as well as for the communication of several other very material circumstances; and embraces this opportunity

opportunity of making his public acknowledgments to him for his great civilities.

[70] By the death of Sir William Stanhope, the Buckinghamshire estate, amounting to eight thousand pounds *per annum*, which had been given to him by his father on his first marriage, reverted to the earl.

[71] Dr. Warren, phyfician to the king.

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LORD CHESTERFIELD

LETTERS

TO

ALDERMAN GEORGE FAULNER

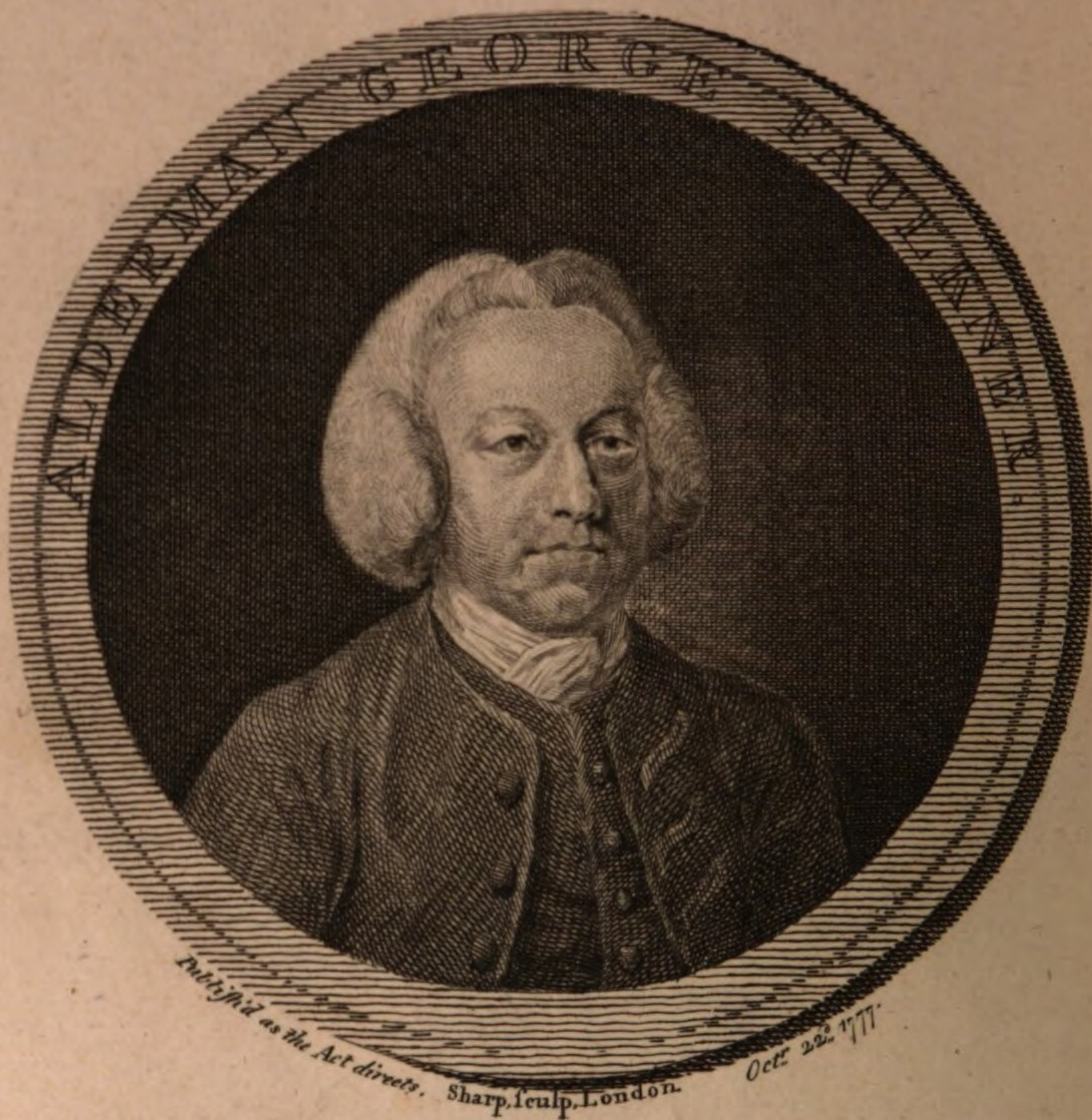
DR. MANDER WERTON

W. DERRICK, M.D. 1825-1834

Vol. I

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S
LETTERS,
TO
ALDERMAN GEORGE FAULKNER,
Dr. MADDEN, Mr. SEXTON,
Mr. DERRICK, and the EARL of ARRAN.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S
LETTERS
TO
ALDERMAN GEORGE RULKNER,
DR. MADDEN, MR. SEXTON,
MR. DERRICK, and the EARL of ARBAN.



LORD CHESTERFIELD'S

L E T T E R S.

L E T T E R I.

T O GEORGE FAULKNER, ESQUIRE.

London, September 17, 1748.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

I AM much obliged to you for the marks of your remembrance and friendship which you send me from time to time. The Sermon of Robert Hort, A. M. is certainly of a very singular nature, but as you do not give me your opinion upon it, I shall not give you mine. Possibly indeed we have neither of us formed one. Thus much only I will say, and that very sincerely ; that if Mr. Hort is in the right, I heartily wish that you may live to see and feel, that general *Restoration* and *Perfection of all things* ; as by the one you will recover your natural leg, and by the other, the letter of your Journal will be as black as ink, and the paper as white as snow, which I reckon, make up the perfection of a Journal. But whatever may be the state of printing in those days, however black your letter, however white your paper, I observe with concern that you are not likely to have Mr. Hort's custom or interest, his sermon being printed by S. Powell. In the mean time I hope business goes on well, and that you print and sell a great number of books, whether they

are read or not. If they become but fashionable furniture it will serve your purpose as well, or it may be better; for if people bought no more books than they intended to read, and no more swords than they intended to use, the two worst trades in Europe, would be a Bookseller's and a Sword-cutler's; but luckily for both, they are reckoned genteel ornaments. Here has been lately published the first volume of a History of the Popes, by one Mr. Bower, who was a Jesuit at Rome. It is extremely well wrote, and I believe it would be very well worth your while to print an octavo edition of it at Dublin; for our edition here is a large quarto, and consequently an expensive one. When finished, it will be four quartos. As yet no lesser edition has appeared here. In this, or any other undertaking, I assure you, that no body can wish you more sincerely well, than

Your friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

As I know you often see the Chief Baron, whom I esteem and honor much, pray make him my compliments.

LETTER II.

TO THE SAME.

Bath, November 11, 1752.

MY GOOD FRIEND,

YOU judged very rightly (as you always do) in thinking that I have the greatest esteem for the works of the bishop of Cloyne, and you acted very kindly (as you always do too) in sending them to me; I have since received them from the bishop himself, but feloniously printed in London by Tonson and Draper, and like most
stolen

stolen goods strangely altered and disguised, as well by larger and whiter paper, as by ink of the blackest dye. I always expect your pacquets with impatience, and receive them with pleasure; but that pleasure would be much more complete, if some productions of your own now and then accompanied the excellent ones which you send me of other people. I must freely tell you that you have been long enough the celebrated and successful man-midwife of other people's conceptions, and it is now high time that you should take up the other end of the business, and beget, conceive, and bear fruit yourself. The most illustrious of your predecessors did so. The Stephens's, the Alduses, and many others, acted as men-midwives to the greatest authors, but then they acted as men too, and begot, as well as delivered: and indeed there is such a relation and connection between those two operations, that it is next to impossible that one who has been so able as you have been in the one, should be deficient in the other. You have moreover one advantage which the greatest of your typographical predecessors had not. They were never personally acquainted with Horace, Virgil, Cicero, and others whose productions they brought to light, but were obliged to exhibit them in the, always imperfect, often deformed, state in which they found them, in ragged and worm-eaten vellum and parchment. Whereas you have been always at the fountain head; you have not only printed and read, but you have heard Swift, Berkeley, and all the best authors of the Irish Augustan age. You have conversed with, you have been informed, and to my knowledge consulted by, them. Should you ask me, my friend, what sort of work I would particularly point out to you, I can only answer, consult your genius, which will best direct you; if it does not lead you, or rather hurry you, whether you will or not, into poetry, do not attempt verse, but take the more common manner of writing, which is prose. Cicero himself had better have done so. A *Typographia Hibernica*, which no man in the kingdom is more capable of doing well than yourself, would be a useful work, and becoming your character.

character. I do not recommend to you any ludicrous performances; they must flow naturally, or they are good for nothing; and though, were it only by your long and amicable collision with Sheridan, Delany, Swift and others, you must be very strongly impregnated with particles of wit and humour, yet I take your natural turn to be grave and philosophical. A collection of *Anas* would admit of all subjects, and in a volume or two of *Swiftiana*, you might both give and take a sample of yourself, by slipping in some *Faulkneriana*; the success of which, would, I am persuaded, engage you to go further. Biography should in my mind be your next step, for which you appear to be thoroughly qualified, by the clear and impartial accounts, which your hebdomadal labours give of the deaths of all people of note. History would soon follow, which in truth you have been writing these many years, though perhaps without thinking so; what is history but a collection of facts and dates? Your Journal is a collection of facts and dates; then, what is your Journal but history? Our friend the chief baron, with whom I have often talked upon this subject, has always agreed with me, that in the fitness of things it was necessary you should be an Author, and I am very sure that if you consult him he will join with me in exhorting you to set about it forthwith. Whenever you assume that character, I claim a very strong dedication with the first copy of the work, as an old friend, which, joking a-part, I sincerely am, and

Your humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LET-

L E T T E R III.

T O T H E S A M E.

Blackheath, September 15, 1753.

M Y W O R T H Y F R I E N D,

THOUGH I am very sorry for your quarrels in Ireland, by which I am sure the public must suffer, let who will prevail; I gladly accept your kind offer of sending me the controversial productions of the belligerent parties. Pray do not think any of those polemical pieces too low, too grub-street, or too scurrilous to send me, for I have leisure to read them all, and prefer them infinitely to all other controversial performances. I have often wished, and wish it now more than ever, that you were in parliament, where, in my opinion, your coolness, gravity, and impartiality would greatly contribute to calm if not to cure those animosities. Virgil seems prophetically to have pointed at you, in his description of a person qualified to sooth and moderate popular tumults. These are the lines, which will perhaps be more intelligible to us both in Dryden's translation, than in the original.

If then some grave and pious man appear,
They hush their noise, and lend a listening ear;
He sooths with sober words their angry mood,
And quenches their innate desire of blood.

I am not very superstitious, but I am persuaded that, if you were to try the *Sortes Virgilianæ*, you would open the book at that very place. That incomparable and religious prince, king Charles the first, consulted them with great faith, and to his great information.

There

There is one thing which I would much rather know, than all the contending parties in Ireland say or write against each other, and that is, your real sentiments upon the whole; but all that I know of them, is that I never shall know them, such is your candour, and such is your caution. The celebrated Atticus seems to me to have been your prototype. He kept well with all parties, so do you; he was trusted and consulted by individuals on all sides, so are you; he wrote some histories, so have you; he was the most eminent bookseller of the age he lived in, so are you; and he died immensely rich, and so will you. It is true he was a knight, and you are not, but that you know is your own fault; and he was an epicurean, and you are a stoic.

For the next seven weeks pray direct your packets to me at Bath, where I am going next week, as deaf as ever your friend the Dean was, and full as much, though not so profitably,

Your friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

Pray make my compliments to our friend Mr. Bristow when you see him.

LETTER IV.

T O T H E S A M E.

London, April 13, 1754.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

TH E S E things never happened to your prototype Atticus, even in the height and rage of the civil dissensions at Rome, and yet I will venture to affirm that he neither was, nor could be more prudent, cautious, and circumspect, than yourself. But there is a chance, a fatality,

a fatality, which we cannot define, that attends particular men, and particular times. Pompey the Great was publicly insulted upon the Roman stage, and the actor obliged to repeat that part a second and a third time; and you my friend, it seems, have been most unaccountably, and unjustly I will add, disturbed for a slight omission in your weekly historical labours. I have upon this occasion searched for precedents among all the best Greek and Latin historians, and I cannot find the drinking of any one political health, recorded by any one of them. Perhaps the Greeks and Romans had not parts enough to invent those ingenious toasts which make so shining a figure in the late annals of Ireland, and possibly it might not occur to them, that the health of any particular day or event long past, could with any propriety be drunk, or perhaps the injudicious historians might think the mention of them below the dignity of history; but be that as it will, it is certain that neither Thucydides, Xenophon, Livy, nor Tacitus, say one word of bumpers, toasts, political, loyal or patriot healths. You stand therefore fully justified by precedents. But however, as wise men will to a certain degree conform to prevailing though perhaps absurd customs; why should you not repair your omission by a more minute and circumstantial account of those elegant drinking bouts or *Symposia* than any of your co-temporary historians have yet thought fit to give? Why not relate circumstantially the convivial wit and urbanity of those polite computations, the serious, the jocular, the ironical, and satyrical toasts, the numbers of bottles guzzled down and spewed up again, the political discourses and plans of government attempted, and now and then interrupted by hiccups and sour eructations, the downfall of heroes weltering in their vomit, and in short the exact detail of those *Noctes Atticæ*. The style of your late friend the Dean, of which you are master, seems admirably adapted to this descriptive part of your historical works, and one way or another you would please all your readers by it. The performers themselves must be glad to see their achievements recorded and transmitted to posterity.

Their

Their enemies perhaps (such is the malignity of the human heart) would not be sorry. Only sober people would or could object to it, and they are too few, and too inconsiderable to deserve your attention.

The riot at the play-house was so extraordinary a one and lasted so long, that I cannot imagine where the civil magistrate, assisted by the military force, was all that time; I am sorry for Sheridan's loss, but I carry my thoughts much farther; and I consider all these events, as they may in their consequences affect you; the precedent seems a dangerous one, and *proximus ardet Eucalegon*. I take the play-house to be the shop of the proprietor, and the plays that he acts his goods, which those that do not like them, are not obliged to take, and need not go to his shop; but those who enter it forcibly, destroy his scenes, benches, &c. are perhaps a more dangerous sort of shop-lifters. Now consider my friend, the near relation that there is between your shop and Mr. Sheridan's. You have, I believe, printed all that he has ever acted, and a great deal more. If therefore these vigorous correctors of the theatre, should take it into their heads to be likewise the correctors of your press, what might be the consequence? I will not anticipate by conjectures so gloomy a scene, but I will only say with the bishop of St. Asaph—*our enemies will tell us with pleasure*.

Pray send me your bill for the innumerable pamphlets, sheets, and half-sheets, which you have been so kind to transmit to me from Dublin; I have, being very idle, read them all, and cannot say that many of them entertained me; but all together they gave me serious concern, to find a people that I love so divided and distracted by party feuds and animosities, of which in the mean time the public is the victim. That Providence and your own prudence may protect you, is sincerely wished by,

Your faithful friend, and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LET-

LETTER V.

TO THE SAME.

London, January 16, 1759.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I FIND with pleasure that you do not forget your old friends, though become useless to you, to themselves, and to the whole world. Dr. Lawson's lectures which I received from you last week, were a most welcome proof of it. I have read them with all the satisfaction that I expected, from my knowledge and esteem of the author. His design is laudable, and his endeavours able, but yet I will not answer for his success. His plan requires much study, and application, and consequently much time; three things that few people will care to bestow upon so trifling an accomplishment as that of speaking well. For in truth, what is the use of speaking, but to be understood, and if one is but understood, surely one speaks well enough of all conscience. But allowing a certain degree of eloquence to be desirable upon some occasions, there is a much easier and shorter way of coming at it, than that which Dr. Lawson proposes, for Horace says (and Horace you know can never be in the wrong) *Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?* Now if a man has nothing to do, but to drink a great deal in order to be eloquent (that is as long as he can speak at all) I will venture to say that Ireland will be, what ancient Greece was, the most eloquent nation in the world without Dr. Lawson's assistance, and even without loss of time or business. I must observe to you by the way, that the Roman *Calix* was not a certain stated measure, but signified a glass, a tumbler, a pot, or any vessel that contained wine, so that by the rule of *pars pro toto*; it may perhaps be extended to a cooper, which

which contains a torrent of this potable eloquence. However, make my compliments to Dr. Lawfon, and return him my thanks for the flattering mention he has made of me, in his excellent work; I wish I deserved it as well, as he did *something* which he has not got.

I am your faithful friend,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER VI.

TO THE SAME.

London, February 7, 1760.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

WHAT mean all these disturbances in Ireland? I fear you do not exert, for I cannot suppose that you have lost, that authority, which your impartiality, dignity, and gravity had so deservedly procured you. You know I always considered Virgil's *pietate gravem virum* as your prototype, and like him, you have allayed former popular commotions, and calmed civil disturbances. You will perhaps tell me that no dignity, no authority whatsoever can restrain or quiet the fury of a multitude drunk with whisky. But then if you cannot, who can? Will the multitude enraged with whisky, be checked and kept within bounds by their betters who are full as drunk as they are, only with claret? no. You are the only neutral power now in Ireland, equally untainted by the outrageous effects of whiskey, or the dull stupefaction of claret; and therefore I require from you, *Ne quid detrimenti capiat Respublica. Capeffe Rempub-licam?*

Do you really mean to turn my head with the repeated doses of flattery which you have lately sent me?

Consider

Consider that long illness has weakened it, and that it has now none of the ballast which yours has to keep it steady. It is so apt to turn of itself, that the least breeze of flattery may over-set it. But perhaps there may be some degree of self-love in your case, for in truth, I was the only lord lieutenant that you ever absolutely governed; but do not mention this, because I am said to have had no favourite.

Let me advise you as a friend not to engage too deep in the expence of a new, and pompous quarto edition of your friend Swift. I think you may chance to be, what perhaps you would not choose to be, a considerable loser by it. Whosoever in the three kingdoms has any books at all, has Swift, and unless you have some new pieces, and those too not trifling ones to add, people will not throw away their present handy and portable octavos, for expensive and unweildly quartos. How far indeed the name (you are so much superior to quibbles, that you can bear and sometimes even smile at them) of *quartos* may help them off in Ireland, I cannot pretend to say. After all this, I am very seriously,

Your faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER VII.

TO THE SAME.

London, July 1, 1762.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

FROM my time down to the present, you have been in possession of governing the governors of Ireland, whenever you have thought fit to meddle with business; and if you had meddled more with some, it might perhaps

haps have been better for them and better for Ireland. A proof of this truth is, that an *out* governor, no sooner received your commands, than he sent them to the *in* governor, who without delay returned him the inclosed answer, by which you know what you have to do.

I send you no news from hence, as it appears by your Journal, that you are much better informed of all that passes, and of all that does not pass than I am; but one piece of news I look upon myself in duty bound to communicate to you, as it relates singly to yourself. Would you think it, Mr. Foote, who, if I mistake not, was one of your *Symposion* while you was in London, and if so the worse man he, takes you off, as it is vulgarly called, that is, acts you in his new Farce, called the Orators. As the government here cannot properly take notice of it, would it be amiss that you should shew some spirit upon this occasion, either by way of stricture, contempt, or by bringing an action against him; I do not mean for writing the said farce, but for acting it. The doctrine of *scribere est agere* was looked upon as too hard in the case of Algernoon Sidney, but my lord Coke in his incomparable notes upon Littleton, my lord chief justice Hales in his Pleas of the Crown, my lord Vaughan, Salkeld, and in short all the greatest men of the law, do, with their usual perspicuity and precision, lay it down for law that *agere est agere*. And this is exactly Mr. Foote's case with regard to you; therefore any orders that you shall think fit to send me, in this affair as to retaining counsel, filing a bill of, Faulkner versus Foote, or bringing a common action upon the case, which I should think would be the best of all, the case itself being actionable, shall be punctually executed by,

Your faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

L E T-

LETTER VIII.

TO THE SAME.

London, January 4, 1763.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

MANY thanks to you for your letter, many thanks to you for your almanack, and more thanks to you, for your friend Swift's works, in which last, to borrow an expression of Cibber's, you have outdone your usual outdoings; for the paper is white-ish, and the ink is black-ish, I only wish that the margin had been a little broader; however, without flattery, it beats Elziver, Aldus, Vascofan, and I make no doubt but that in seven or eight hundred years, the learned and the curious in those times, will, like the learned and the curious in these, who prefer the impression of a book to the matter of it, collect with pains and expence all the books that were published ex Typographia Faulkneriana.—But I am impatient to congratulate you upon your late triumph; you have made (if you will forgive a quibble upon so serious a subject) your enemy your Foot-stool; a victory which the divine Socrates had not influence enough to obtain at Athens over Aristophanes, nor the great Pompey at Rome, over the actor who had the insolence to abuse him under the name of Magnus, by which he was universally known, and to tell him from the stage, *Miseriis nostris Magnus Magnus es*. A man of less philosophy than yourself, would perhaps, have chastised Mr. Foote corporally, and have made him feel that your wooden leg which he mimicked, had an avenging arm to protect it; but you scorned so inglorious a victory, and called justice, and the laws of your country to punish the criminal, and to avenge your cause. You triumphed; and I heartily join my weak voice, to the loud acclamations of the good citizens of Dublin upon this occasion. I take it
for

for granted that some of your many tributary wits have already presented you with gratulatory poems, odes, &c. upon this subject; I own I had some thoughts myself of inscribing a short poem to you upon your triumph, but to tell you the truth, when I had writ not above two thousand verses of it, my muse forsook me, my poetic vein stopped, I threw away my pen, and I burned my poem, to the irreparable loss not only of the present age, but also of latest posterity.

I very seriously and sincerely wish you a great many very happy new years, and am,

Your most faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

I like your messenger, young Dunkin, mightily; he is a very sensible well behaved young man.

LETTER IX.

TO THE SAME.

London, May 22, 1766.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

YOU reproach me gently, but with seeming justice for my long silence; I confess the fact, but think that I can, in some degree at least, excuse it. I am grown very old, and both my mind and my body feel the sad effects of old age. All the parts of my body now refuse me their former assistance, and my mind, (if I may use that expression) stutters and is as unready as any part of my body. Under these circumstances, it is no wonder that I delayed writing to such a critic and philosopher as you are. However I will now trust to your indulgence.

I thank you for the book you sent me, in which there is great labour and great learning, but I confess that it
is

is a great deal above me, and I am now too old to begin to learn Celtick.

Your septennial patriotick bill, is unfortunately lost here, and I humbly presume to the great joy of the patriots who brought it in, to whom one may apply what has hitherto been charged as a blunder upon our country, that *they have got a loss*. It is not the case with a Habeas Corpus act, if you can ever get one, and were no body wiser than I, you should have one to-day; for I think every human creature has a right to liberty, which cannot with justice be taken from him, unless he forfeits it by some crime.

I cannot help observing, and with some satisfaction, that Heaven has avenged your cause, as well and still more severely, than the courts of temporal justice in Ireland did, having punished your adversary Foote in the part offending. The vulgar saying that mocking is catching, is verified in his case, you may in your turn mock him, without danger to your adopted leg.

Adieu, my good friend, be as well as ever you can, and as serenely chearful as you please. I need not bid you grow rich, for you have taken good care of that already, and if you were now to grow richer, you would be overgrown, and after all, *est modus in rebus*. I am very seriously and truly,

Your faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

A C A R D.

LORD CHESTERFIELD sends his compliments to his good friend Mr. Faulkner, hungers and thirsts after him, and hopes that he will take some mutton with him at Blackheath, any day or days that he has leisure.

Blackheath, August 13, 1766

LETTER X.

TO THE SAME.

London, July 7, 1767.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I AM to thank you, and I heartily do thank you, for your kind and welcome present. You have cloathed your old friend the Dean very richly, and suitably to his merit, and your own present dignity; but after all the poor Dean pays dear for his own fame, since every scrap of paper of his, every rebus, quibble, pun and conversation joke is to be published, because it was his. It is true his *Bagatelles*, are much better than other people's, but still many of them, I believe, he would have been sorry to have had published. How does your new dignity agree with you? do you manfully withstand the attacks of claret? or do you run into the danger to avoid the apprehension? You may set the fashion of sobriety if you please, and a singular one it will be; for I dare say that in the records of Dublin, there is no one instance to be found of a sober high-sheriff. Remember Sir William Temple's rule, and consider that every glass of wine that you drink beyond the third, is for Foote, the only enemy that I believe you have in the world. I am sure you have a friend, though a very useless one, in,

Your faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

I hope your fair fellow traveller is well.

LET-

L E T T E R XI.

T O T H E S A M E.

London, March 25, 1769.

M Y W O R T H Y F R I E N D,

A VIOLENT inflammation in my eyes, which is not yet quite removed, hindered me from acknowledging your last letter sooner ; I regretted this delay the more, as I was extremely impatient to return, through you, my heartiest thanks to the Dublin Society, for the honor they have done me, by remembering in so advantageous a manner, and after so long an interval, an old and hearty friend and well-wisher. Pray tell them that I am much prouder of the place they have given me amongst those excellent citizens, my old friends Prior, Madden, Swift, &c. who benefitted and improved mankind, than I should be of one amongst heroes, conquerors and monarchs, who generally disturb and destroy their species. I did nothing for the Society but what every body, in my then situation, must and would have done ; so that I have not the least merit upon that score ; and I was aware that jobbs would creep into the Society, as they do now into every society in England, as well as in Ireland, but neither that fear nor that danger should hinder one from founding or encouraging establishments that are in the main useful. Considering the times, I am afraid it is necessary that jobbs should come, and all one can do is to say, woe be to him from whom the jobb cometh, and to extract what public good one can out of it. You give me great pleasure in telling me that drinking is a good deal lessened ; may it diminish more and more every day. I am convinced that could an exact calculation be made of what Ireland has lost within these last fifty years in its trade, manufactures, manners and morals by drunkenness, the sum total would frighten the most determined guzzler of either claret or whiskey, into sobriety.

Y 2

I have

I have received, and thank you for, the volumes you sent me of Swift, whom you have enriched me with in every shape and size. Your liberality makes me ashamed, and I could wish that you would rather be my book-seller, than my book-giver. Adieu, I am very sincerely,

Your faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER XII.

TO THE SAME.

London, January 2, 1770.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

I RETURN you many thanks for your letter, with the inclosed papers which I received yesterday. You say with great truth that you are all in confusion in Ireland, but I will say nothing upon that subject. I am much obliged to the Dublin Society for thinking my busto worth putting up among so many better heads; my head never did Ireland much good; but upon my word, my heart always wished it, and if it loves me a little, it is but love for love. There is a spirit of dissatisfaction among you, but I hope it will not run into faction, which is too much the case in England at present; be angry, but sin not. I am sorry to find by your votes, that you persist in your militia scheme. Of your five or six thousand militia men there will be at least one half Papists, and would you put arms in their hands, and discipline in their heads? Those who were the most for the militia here at first are sick of it now, and have at last found

found out that it is only an addition of thirty thousand men to our regular army of twenty thousand, and full as dangerous to the constitution. I find every day more and more, that it was not without reason, that many years ago I looked upon you as the Atticus of Ireland; for in all these bustles you stand unmoved and uncensured, and enjoy the storm by growing very rich in the midst of it. Adieu, and many happy new years to you. I am very sincerely,

Your faithful friend and servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER XIII.

TO THE SAME.

Chesterfield House, March 11, 1771.

MY WORTHY FRIEND,

THE indifferent state of my health at present, will only allow me, to thank you (and that not with my own hand) for your friendly letter, with that from your friend to you, which I return you here inclosed, according to your desire.

I now see your Irish affairs, at too great a distance, both of time and place, to form any just opinion upon them; but this I will confess to you, that the present situation, does not at all flatter my good wishes, for the peace and prosperity of Ireland. I hope things will mend, and I am sure, there is great room for them to do so. Adieu, my friend. I am, most sincerely and faithfully,

Yours,

CHESTERFIELD.

LET-

LETTER XIV.

TO THE REV. DOCTOR SAMUEL MADDEN.

London, September 15, 1748.

S I R,

I A M very sensibly affected with the late mark which you have given me of your remembrance and friendship, I assure you that I deserve them both, as far as the truest regard for your parts and merit can entitle me to them.

Your Poem, of which I have read the first Canto with equal pleasure and attention, has (without any compliment to you) a great deal of wit and invention in it; the characters are perfectly well preserved; and the moral, which it is easy to foresee from the first Canto, is excellent. You cannot doubt of my being proud to have such a performance addressed to me; and I should be prouder of it still, if the Author's name were to appear; but, as your friend, I must confess, that I think you in the right to conceal it: for, though the moral be good, yet, as the propriety of characters has obliged you to put some warm expressions in the mouths of Venus and Cupid, some silly, or malicious people might lay hold of them, and quote them to your disadvantage. As to the Dedication, I must tell you very sincerely, and without the least false modesty, that I heartily wish you would lower it: the honest warmth of your friendship makes you view me in a more partial light, than other people do, or, upon my word, than I do myself. The few light, trifling things that I have accidentally scribbled in my youth, in the cheerfulness of company, or sometimes (it may be) inspired by wine, do by no means entitle me to the compliments which you make me as an author; and my own vanity is so far from deceiving me upon that subject, that I repent of what I have shewn,

shewn, and only value myself upon what I have had the prudence to burn.

Though my cares for Ireland are ceased, you do me but justice in being convinced that my wishes for the prosperity of that country never will cease but with my life. The best wish that I could form for it would be, that half its inhabitants were like you: nay, I would compound for twenty who would, like you, devote their thoughts, their time, and a proportionable share of their fortunes to the public good. Your late considerable benefaction to Dublin College will be a perpetual monument of your public spirit, and your love of mankind. How greatly would arts and sciences flourish in Ireland, if those, who are much better able than you are, would contribute but half as much as you do to their improvement? You shine, indeed, the more for it; but I know you well enough to know, that you would rather *prodesse quam conspici*. The Irish might be a rich and happy people, *bona si sua nōrint*. Free from the heavy load of debts and taxes under which the English groan, as fit for arts, sciences, industry and labour, as any people in the world, they might, notwithstanding some hard restraints which England, by a mistaken policy, has laid them under, push several branches of trade to great perfection and profit; and, not only supply themselves with every thing they want, but other nations too with many things. But jobbs and claret engross and ruin the people of fashion, and, the ordinary people (as is usual in every country) imitate them in little momentary and mistaken views of present profit, and in whiskey. As to the incorporating by Charter the Dublin Society, I see many advantages that might arise from it; but, I must at the same time own, that I foresee some dangers too. Jobbs have hitherto always accompanied charters, however they may have been calculated to prevent them. The Dublin Society has hitherto gone on extremely well, and done infinite good: why? Because that not being a permanent incorporated society, and having no employments to dispose of, and depending only for their existence on their own good behaviour, it was not a theatre for jobbers to

to shew their skill upon : but, when once established by Charter, the very advantages which are expected from, and which, I believe, will attend that Charter, I fear may prove fatal. It may then become an object of party, and Parliamentary views ; (for you know how low they stoop) in which case it will become subservient to the worst, instead of the best designs. Remember the Linen-board, where the paltry dividend of a little flax-feed was become the seed of jobbs, which indeed produced one hundred fold. However, I submit my fears to your hopes ; and will do all that I can to promote that Charter which you, who I am sure have considered it in every light, seem so desirous of. Mr. Maccauley, who is now here, has brought over the rough draught of a Charter, which he and I are to meet and consider of next week. I hope your worthy fellow labourers, and my worthy friends, the bishop of Meath and Mr. Prior are well. May you long be so, for the good of mankind, and for the particular satisfaction of,

Your most sincere friend and faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

I hope you will send me the other Cantos by proper opportunities, for I long to see them.

LETTER XV.

TO THE SAME.

London, November 29, 1748.

SIR,

A RETURN of my old complaint of vertigos and pains in my head, which sent me to Bath, from whence I am but lately arrived here, and that with less benefit than I hoped for, delayed till now my acknowledgments

ledgments for your last friendly letter which accompanied the remainder of your poem. I read it with great pleasure, and not without some surprize to find a work of that length continued to the end with the same spirit and fire with which it begins. Horace's great rule of *qualis ab incæpto* was, I believe, never better observed. If the public receives the same pleasure from it that I have done, you will have the satisfaction of having discharged every office towards mankind, that a private citizen of the world is capable of. Your example, your fortune, and your genius, will all have been devoted to the service, the improvement, and the rational pleasures of your fellow-creatures.

I make no doubt but that the Charter for the Dublin Society, when once you shall have formed it properly among yourselves, will be granted here; and upon the whole I am much for it, and will promote it to my power; not but that I foresee some dangers on that side of the question too. Abuses have always hitherto crept into corporate bodies, and will probably, in time, creep into this too: but I hope that it will have such an effect, at first, as to make the future abuses of less consequence. The draught, which Mr. Maccauley shewed me here, of the Charter seems to have all the provisions in it, that human prudence can make against human iniquity.

Good health and long life attend you, my good friend, for the sake of mankind in general, and of that country in particular, which will ever have a great share of the warmest wishes of,

Your faithful humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

L E T-

LETTER XVI.

TO THE SAME.

London, April 15, 1749.

SIR,

YOU are, I am sure, too well persuaded of my sincere regard and friendship for you, to impute my late silence to negligence or forgetfulness: but, two concurrent causes have hindered me from acknowledging your two last letters; the one was the ill state of my health; the other was the unsettled state of my person, in my migration from my old house to my new one, where I have hardly yet got pen, ink, paper and a table. This latter has, I believe, been attested to you by your son, who saw me unfurnished in my old house, and since unsettled in my new one. I have (as I told him that I would) executed your orders, with regard to my book-fellers: I have told them, more fully than I can tell you, my thoughts of the work, and have raised their impatience for some of the copies; for which they will treat with your printer. How they will sell (considering the whimsical and uncertain decision of the public in those matters) I do not know; but how they ought to sell, if the public judges right, I well know: for I never saw more wit, fancy and imagination upon any one single subject. Every one of your alterations are, in my opinion, for the better, excepting those which you say you have made in my favour, and in which I fear, the public will too justly differ from you: your partiality to me had carried you but too far before. I congratulate both you and Ireland most heartily, upon the encreasing fruits of your labours for the public good: for I am informed from all hands, that a spirit of industry diffuses itself through all Ireland; the linen manufacture gains ground daily in the South and South-west; and new manufactures arise in different parts

parts of the kingdom ; all which, I will venture to say, is originally owing to your judicious and indefatigable endeavours for the good of your country. You know the nature of mankind in general, and of our countrymen in particular, (for I still think and call myself an Irishman) well enough, to know that the invitation by præmiums would be much more effectual than laws, or remote considerations of general public good, upon which few people reason well enough to be convinced that their own solid, private interest essentially depends. The Dublin Society, and, in particular, my good friends the bishop of Meath, and Prior, have seconded you very well ; and it is not saying too much of them to say, that they deserve better of Ireland, than any one other set of men in it ; I will not even except the parliament. The præmiums for flaxseed raised, instead of the former iniquitous distribution of it, have, I am told and believe, had very good consequences for the linen manufacture. And, as *there* was an infamous jobb got the better of, I am in hopes that all jobbs will be hindered from creeping into that excellent establishment of the Protestant Charter-Schools, which, if it be kept pure but for some years, will have a prodigious effect, as to the religious and political state of Ireland : but, if once Protestant children slip into those schools, as was attempted in my time, the end of their institution ceases. I hope the University of Dublin, that enjoys a share of your præmiums, deserves them. Our two Universities, at least, will do it no hurt, unless by their examples ; for I cannot believe that their present reputations will invite people in Ireland to send their sons there. The one (Cambridge) is sunk into the lowest obscurity ; and the existence of Oxford would not be known, if it were not for the treasonable spirit publicly avowed, and often exerted there. The University of Dublin has this great advantage over ours ; it is one compact body, under the eye and authority of one head, who, if he is a good one, can enforce order and discipline, and establish the public exercises as he thinks proper ; among which the purity and elegance of the English language ought to be particularly

ticularly attended to : for there you are apt to fail in Ireland. But, I trouble you too long, upon subjects of which you are a much better judge than I am, and upon the spot to observe. My thoughts are only *Quæ censet amicus* ; and I give them you, *Ut si cæcus iter monstrare velit*. My wishes for the prosperity of your country are as warm and as sincere, as the sentiments of regard, esteem and friendship, with which I am,

Your most faithful humble servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER XVII.

TO MR. SEXTON, LIMERICK.

London, April 8, 1752.

S I R,

I AM sincerely glad of the reward and encouragement which your industry hath met with. I never doubted but that it would ; for, though imaginary merit commonly complains of being unrewarded, real merit, sooner or later, in some shape or other, seldom fails of success. You have already experienced this, and will, I hope and believe, experience it every day more and more. Your Paper already wants but very little of equaling the best that any other country furnishes, and I see no reason why you should not bring it soon to such a point of perfection as to supply all the demands of Ireland, and possibly some of England ; for at present we import a great deal from other countries. Let me give you one piece of advice, though I believe you want it less than most manufacturers in Ireland. Never think your paper either good enough or cheap enough, be it ever so good or ever so cheap, but always endeavour to make it both better and cheaper ; and sacrifice a little present and precarious to future

future and permanent profit. Acquire the public confidence in the goodness and reasonableness of your manufacture, and your fortune will be solid and lasting, both to you and your family, if they will tread in your steps.

I know a thread merchant at Rotterdam, who hath got above thirty thousand pounds by his industry, punctuality and integrity. He never let a yard of bad thread go out of his hands, and never took a farthing more than reasonable profit; by these means he hath acquired such confidence, that people make no difficulty of sending a blindman, or a child for what thread they want, sure not to be deceived either in the quantity or the quality of it. At first he got little, but then he lived low; his profits increased faster than his expence, and his expence now bears a just proportion to his fortune. Most trades-people in Ireland begin just at the other end, and therefore end so ill, as they frequently do. By what you have done it is plain you do not want these hints, and I hope your example will suggest them to those who do. I am, with that esteem, which you deserve from all Ireland, and from all those who wishes it as well as I do, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER XVIII.

TO SAMUEL DERRICK, ESQ.

London, February 6, 1767.

SIR,

WHEN I left the Bath, I thought I left your throne as solidly established, as any throne in Europe. You ruled with lenity, and your subjects obeyed with chearfulness. But

But such is the uncertainty of human affairs, that it seems a conspiracy has broke out, to distress, and even to subvert your government. I do not see what I can do at this distance to assist you, knowing no body at Bath but my brother and lord Ancram, who are both, as I am informed, much in your interest. There is a committee, you say, formed against you; form a counter committee of your most considerable friends, not forgetting two or three of our tough countrymen, who are *Manu quam Consilio promptiores*. Among gentler, but perhaps not less effectual measures, you may call ridicule into your assistance, and give their committee the name of The Committee of Safety, which was manifestly formed to destroy the then established government, and (avert the omen) did so. They begin with the reformation of your music, the Round-heads did so with the organs; but the latter meant more, and so do the former. The profit is the real cause of discord, and therefore I am afraid that some man of quality and fortune should avail himself of those civil dissensions, and come and swallow the oyster, and leave you and your antagonist only the shells. For my own part, I say, O king, live for ever. I am,

Your faithful, and loyal subject,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER XIX.

TO THE SAME.

London, March 17, 1767.

SIR,

DID I not tell you when first these little convulsions shook your throne, that they would tend to fix and establish it upon solid foundations. This hath happened,
and

and I look upon your power to be, since your restoration, more permanent and more extensive than ever. It was the cause of king Charles the second upon his restoration, when all his subjects were in haste to surrender into his hands, all their rights and privileges. You are now in possession of all those at Bath, in as full and as ample a manner, as the most absolute of your predecessors (Nash) ever enjoyed them. But I must recommend to you to use your unlimited power with moderation and lenity, and to reflect, that despotism is a state of violence, which human nature abhors. How could you think me so bad a courtier, as not to be willing that my name should appear in the list of your flatterers? Make what use you please of it, but do not put me down in the list of your ministers, for I do not like that profession. I cannot say that I approve of your Poll Tax, as a fund for your Civil List, for I am convinced it will prove a deficient one. Your Balls were a much better. Your balls took in every Body, and many could not refuse taking a ticket from you *Ore tenus*, who will slip and shuffle out of the way of your subscription book.

I should be unworthy of my peerage, if now that you are king indeed, I were not,

Your loyal subject,

and faithful servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

L E T-

LETTER XX.

TO THE EARL OF ARRAN.

Bath, October 22, 1770.

MY LORD,

I CONSIDER lord and lady Sudley's passing through Geneva as a fortunate accident for me, as it was the occasion of reviving me in your lordship's memory, for whom I always had the greatest regard and esteem: the advantageous testimony which my kinswoman lady Stanhope bore of lord and lady Sudley, in a letter to me, ought to have the greater weight, as it was unasked and unbiaſſed; for ſhe could not know the part I took in every thing that concerned you: and I have been ſo long out of the world, that I did not know who lord and lady Sudley were, till I was informed by my old friend George Faulkner. Having mentioned him, give me leave to ſet your lordſhip right as to a very great miſtake in a letter from you to him, which he ſhewed me. Your lordſhip ſays there, that you thought I looked coldly upon you for having propoſed in the houſe of commons, the augmentation of four or five thouſand men. Now I aſſure your lordſhip, upon my honor, that I had no ſuch intention: it is true I diſapproved of the motion, which I thought at that time unneceſſary, and I think time has juſtified my opinion. I had always a great contempt for that extravagant attempt of the Pretender, which though it ſcattered ſhameful terrors, both here and in Ireland, I own never gave me one moment's uneaſineſs. In all events, I thought the affair muſt be decided one way or other before the troops propoſed could be raiſed and tolerably diſciplined, but I well knew that the half pay of the officers would remain for many years a burthen

then

then upon Ireland, which I was unfashionable enough to consider, and to prevent if I could ; but I had not the least reason to be displeased with whoever proposed or voted for that question ; on the contrary, it flattered my vanity, in giving me the nomination of all the officers, and might have flattered my purse still more, had I been an infamous corrupt rascal. I never tampered with votes, nor ever made the least distinction in my reception of the members of either House upon account of their political conduct ; nor indeed, could I well do it, for your lordship well knows that I met with no difficulty nor opposition during my short administration ; you all judged favourably, and give me leave to add justly, of my intentions, and in consideration of them excused my errors. When I returned from Ireland, I thought that the weight of property was too unequally divided between the two houses, and preponderated too much on the side of the house of Commons, and therefore, I laid a list before the late king of six commoners of the largest property, and the best characters to be made peers, in which list I give your lordship my word and honor you was one ; the king approved of it, but fate soon disposed of me in another department, much against my inclinations. Since that time I have ever heartily, though ineffectually, wished the peace and prosperity of Ireland, and shall always value myself upon its good opinion. I ask pardon for this tedious letter, relative only to times past, but I plead the privilege of seventy-six years of age which is always apt to be garrulous.

I am, with the greatest truth and esteem,

MY LORD,

Your lordship's most faithful,

and obedient servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

then upon Ireland, which I was unqualified enough to consider, and to prevent it I could; but I had not the least reason to be dissatisfied with whoever proposed or voted for that measure; on the contrary, it hastened my return, in giving me the nomination of all the officers, and as I have already my private affairs, had I been an intimate acquaintance with you, I never separated with you, nor ever made the least objection in any respect to the measures suggested upon account of their political conduct; I am indeed, I will do it, for your lordship's sake, because that I was with no difficulty, nor opposition during my short administration; you all judged in favour of me, and I have to add much of my influence, and in consideration of them I wished my efforts to be continued from Ireland, I thought that the weight of power was too unequally divided between the two houses, and preponderated too much on the side of the House of Commons, and therefore, I had a bill before the House for the continuance of the last session, and the bill of the continuance of the last session, in which I give you lordship my word and honor, and was one; the bill approved of it, but the too difficult of me in an other department, much as my intention, I thought I have overheard, though imperfectly, within the peace and prosperity of Ireland, and shall always value myself upon its good opinion. I will pardon for the reasons before, which only to times past, but I owed the privilege of seven years of age which is a wave of the rainbow.

and I am, with the greatest truth and sincerity, your lordship's most faithful, and obedient servant,
C H E S T E R
and obedient servant,
Your lordship's most faithful,
and obedient servant,
C H E S T E R

CHARACTERS

OF

EMINENT PERSONAGES

OF HIS OWN TIME.

WRITTEN BY THE LATE

EARL OF CHESTERFIELD;

AND

NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

CHARACTERS

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2

CHARACTERS, &c.

GEORGE THE FIRST.

GEORGE the First was an honest, dull German gentleman, as unfit as unwilling to act the part of a King, which is, to shine and oppress. Lazy and inactive even in his pleasures; which were therefore lowly sensual. He was coolly intrepid, and indolently benevolent. He was diffident of his own parts, which made him speak little in public, and prefer in his social, which were his favourite, hours, the company of wags and buffoons. Even his mistress, the duchess of Kendal, with whom he passed most of his time, and who had all influence over him, was very little above an idiot. Importunity could alone make him act, and then only to get rid of it. His views and affections were singly confined to the narrow compass of his electorate—England was too big for him.—If he had nothing great as a King, he had nothing bad as a man—and if he does not adorn, at least he will not stain the annals of this country. In private life he would have been loved and esteemed as a good citizen, a good friend, and a good neighbour.—Happy were it for Europe, happy for the world, if there were not greater kings in it!

QUEEN

QUEEN CAROLINE.

QUEEN CAROLINE had lively, pretty parts, a quick conception, and some degree of female knowledge; and would have been an agreeable woman in social, if she had not aimed at being a great one in public, life. She had the graces that adorn the former, but neither the strength of parts, nor the judgment necessary for the latter. She professed art, instead of concealing it, and valued herself upon her skill in simulation and dissimulation, by which she made herself many enemies, and not one friend, even amongst the women the nearest to her person. She loved money, but could occasionally part with it, especially to men of learning, whose patronage she affected. She often conversed with them, and bewildered herself in their metaphysical disputes, which neither she nor they themselves understood. Cunning and perfidy were the means she made use of in business—as all women do—for want of better. She shewed her art the most in her management of the king, whom she governed absolutely, by a seeming complaisance and obedience to all his humours—she even favoured and promoted his gallantries. She had a dangerous ambition, for it was attended with courage, and, if she had lived much longer, might have proved fatal, either to herself or to the constitution. After puzzling herself in all the whimsies and fantastical speculations of different sects, she fixed ultimately in Deism, believing a future state.—She died with great resolution and intrepidity, of a very painful distemper, and under some cruel operations.

Upon the whole, the Agreeable Woman was liked by most people, but the Queen was neither esteemed, beloved, nor trusted by any body but the king.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

MUCH question, whether an impartial character of Sir Robert Walpole will or can be transmitted to posterity :

ty : for he governed this kingdom so long, that the various passions of mankind mingled and in a manner incorporated themselves with every thing that was said or written concerning him. Never was man more flattered or more abused—and his long power was probably the cause of both. I was much acquainted with him both in his public and private life. I mean to do impartial justice to his character, and therefore my picture of him will perhaps be more like him, than it will be like any of the other pictures drawn of him.

In private life he was good-natured, chearful, social ; inelegant in his manners, loose in his morals, he had a coarse strong wit, which he was too free of for a man in his station, as it is always inconsistent with dignity. He was very able as a Minister, but without a certain elevation of mind, necessary for great good, or great mischief. Profuse and appetent, his ambition was subservient to his design of making a great fortune—He had more of the Mazarin than of the Richelieu—He would do mean things for profit, and never thought of doing great ones for glory. He was both the best parliament-man, and the ablest manager of parliament, that I believe ever lived. An artful rather than eloquent speaker, he saw, as by intuition, the disposition of the house, and pressed or receded accordingly. So clear in stating the most intricate matters, especially in the finances, that, whilst he was speaking, the most ignorant thought that they understood what they really did not. Money, not prerogative, was the chief engine of his administration ; and he employed it with a success, which in a manner disgraced humanity. He was not, it is true, the inventor of that shameful method of governing, which had been gaining ground insensibly ever since Charles the Second, but with uncommon skill and unbounded profusion he brought it to that perfection which at this time dishonours and distresses this country, and which (if not checked, and God knows how it can be now checked) must ruin it.

Besides this powerful engine of government, he had a most extraordinary talent of persuading and working men
up

up to his purpose---A hearty kind of frankness, which sometimes seemed imprudence, made people think that he let them into his secrets, whilst the impoliteness of his manners seemed to attest his sincerity. When he found any body proof against pecuniary temptations, which alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art: for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue and the love of one's country, calling them "*The chimerical school-boy flights of classical learning*"; declaring himself at the same time "*No Saint, no Spartan, no Reformer.*" He would frequently ask young fellows at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted---"*Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? You'll soon come off of that and grow wiser.*" And thus he was more dangerous to the morals, than to the liberties of his country, to which I am persuaded that he meant no ill in his heart.

He was the easy and profuse dupe of women, and in some instances indecently so---He was excessively open to flattery, even of the grossest kind, and from the coarsest bunglers of that vile profession; which engaged him to pass most of his leisure and jovial hours with people whose blasted characters reflected upon his own---He was loved by many, but respected by none, his familiar and illiberal mirth and raillery leaving him no dignity---He was not vindictive, but on the contrary very placable to those who had injured him the most---His good humour, good nature, and beneficence in the several relations of father, husband, master, and friend, gained him the warmest affections of all within that circle.

His name will not be recorded in history amongst the Best Men, or the Best Ministers, but much less ought it to be ranked amongst the Worst.

MR. PULTENEY.

MR. PULTENEY was formed by nature for social and convivial pleasures---Resentment made him engage in business. He had thought himself slighted by

Sir

Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he publicly avowed not only revenge, but utter destruction. He had lively and shining parts, a surprizing quickness of wit, and a happy turn to the most amusing and entertaining kinds of poetry, as epigrams, ballads, odes, &c. in all which he had an uncommon facility. His compositions in that way were sometimes satyrical, often licentious, but always full of wit.

He had a quick and clear conception of business, could equally detect and practice sophistry—he could state and explain the most intricate matters, even in figures, with the utmost perspicuity. His parts were rather above business, and the warmth of his imagination, joined to the impetuosity and restlessness of his temper, made him incapable of conducting it long together with prudence and steadiness.

He was a most complete orator and debator in the House of Commons, eloquent, entertaining, persuasive, strong, and pathetic, as occasion required; for he had arguments, wit, and *tears* at his command. His breast was the seat of all those passions which degrade our nature and disturb our reason. There they raged in a perpetual conflict, but Avarice, the meanest of them all, generally triumphed, ruled absolutely, and in many instances, which I forbear to mention *, *most scandalously*.

His sudden passion was outrageous, but supported by great personal courage.

* One instance, if he had known it, the characterizer might not have thought beneath his notice. Vanity had often loudly insisted that the Earl of Bath should have a burial-place amongst the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey, and had as often been called to order by Avarice for the extravagant idea. But at length she carried her point by a lucky opportunity of not only bringing her adversary over, but of animating her in a cause, which she now looked upon as her own, from the flattering prospect of extending her triumph, which she was already assured would be felt “strong in death,” even beyond death itself. It was discovered that in this receptacle of fallen grandeur there was a vault belonging to the family of Hatton, of which there was but one life remaining. Lord Bath purchased the reversion of this vault, which soon after became his property, and then sold a division of it for the full sum he had given for the whole, with the unspeakable happiness to foresee that his Right Honourable remnants would rot with Royalty at *free-cost*.

Nothing

Nothing exceeded his ambition but his avarice : they often accompany and are frequently and reciprocally the causes and the effects of each other, but the latter is always a clog upon the former.

He affected good nature and compassion, and perhaps his heart might feel the misfortunes and distresses of his fellow-creatures, but his hand was seldom or never stretched out to relieve them.

Though he was an able actor of truth and sincerity, he could occasionally lay them aside to serve the purposes of his ambition or avarice.

He was once in the greatest point of view that I ever saw any subject in. When the opposition of which he was the leader in the House of Commons, prevailed at last against Sir Robert Walpole, he became the arbiter between the Crown and the People : the former imploring his protection, the latter his support. In that critical moment his various jarring passions were in the highest ferment, and for a while suspended his ruling one. Sense of shame made him hesitate at turning courtier on a sudden, after having acted the patriot so long, and with so much applause, and his pride made him declare that he would accept of no place, vainly imagining, that he could by such a simulated and temporary self-denial preserve his popularity with the people and his power at court. He was mistaken in both. The King hated him almost as much for what he might have done, as for what he had done : and a motley ministry was formed who by no means desired his company.

The nation looked upon him as a deserter, and he shrunk into insignificance and an earldom.

He made several attempts afterwards to retrieve the popularity he had lost, but in vain--his situation would not allow it--he was fixed in the House of Lords, that hospital of incurables, and his retreat to popularity was cut off--For the confidence of the people, when once great, and once lost, is never to be regained--He lived afterwards in retirement with the wretched comfort of Horace's miser.

Populus me sibilat &c.

I may

I may perhaps be suspected to have given too strong colouring to some features of this portrait ; but I solemnly protest, that I have drawn it conscientiously and to the best of my knowledge, from very long acquaintance with and observation of the original. Nay, I have rather softened than heightened the colouring.

LORD HARDWICKE.

LORD HARDWICKE was perhaps the greatest Magistrate that this country ever had. He presided in the Court of Chancery above twenty years, and in all that time none of his decrees were reversed, nor the justness of them ever questioned. Though avarice was his ruling passion, he was never in the least suspected of any kind of corruption--a rare and meritorious instance of virtue and self-denial, under the influence of such a craving, insatiable, and increasing passion!

He had great and clear parts; understood, loved, and cultivated the Belles Lettres.

He was an agreeable, eloquent speaker in Parliament, but not without some little tincture of the pleader.

Men are apt to mistake, or at least to seem to mistake their own talents, in hopes perhaps of misleading others to allow them that which they are conscious they do not possess. Thus Lord Hardwicke valued himself more upon being a great Minister of state, which he certainly was not, than upon being a great Magistrate, which he certainly was.

All his notions were clear, but none of them great. Good order and domestic details were his proper department. The great and shining parts of government, though not above his parts to conceive, were above his timidity to undertake.

By great and lucrative employments, during the course of thirty years, and by still greater parsimony, he acquired an immense fortune, and established his numerous family in profitable posts and advantageous alliances.

Though he had been Solicitor and Attorney General, he was by no means what is called a prerogative lawyer
---he

--he loved the constitution, and maintained the just prerogative of the crown, but without stretching it to the oppression of the people.

He was naturally humane, moderate, and decent, and when by his former employments he was obliged to prosecute state-criminals, he discharged that duty in a very different manner from most of his predecessors, who were too justly called the Blood-hounds of the Crown.

He was a chearful and instructive companion, humane in his nature, decent in his manners, unstained with any vice (Avarice excepted) a very Great Magistrate, but by no means a Great Minister.

MR. FOX.

MR. HENRY FOX was a younger brother of the lowest extraction. His father, Sir Stephen Fox, made a considerable fortune, *some how or other*, and left him a fair younger brother's portion, which he soon spent in the common vices of youth, gaming included. This obliged him to travel for some time. While abroad, he met with a very salacious Englishwoman, whose liberality retrieved his fortune, with several circumstances, more to the honor of his vigour than his morals.

When he returned, though by education a Jacobite, he attached himself to Sir Robert Walpole, and was one of his ablest *eleves*. He had no fixed principles either of religion or morality, and was too unwearied in ridiculing and exploding them.

He had very great abilities and indefatigable industry in business, great skill in managing, that is, in corrupting, the House of Commons, and a wonderful dexterity in attaching individuals to himself. He promoted, encouraged, and practised their vices; he gratified their avarice, or supplied their profusion. He wisely and punctually performed whatever he promised, and most liberally rewarded their attachment and dependance. By these and all other means that can be imagined, he made himself many personal friends and political dependants.

He

He was a most disagreeable speaker in parliament, inelegant in his language, hesitating and ungraceful in his elocution, but skilful in discerning the temper of the house, and in knowing when and how to press or to yield.

A constant good-humour and seeming frankness made him a welcome companion in social life, and in all domestic relations he was good-natured.

As he advanced in life, his ambition became subservient to his avarice. His early profusion and dissipation had made him feel the many inconveniencies of want, and, as it often happens, carried him to the contrary and worse extreme of corruption and rapine. *Rem, quocunque modo rem* became his maxim, which he observed (I will not say religiously and scrupulously) but invariably and shamefully.

He had not the least notion of, or regard for, the public good or the constitution, but despised those cares, as the objects of narrow minds, or the pretences of interested ones. And he lived, as Brutus died, calling *Virtue only a name*.

MR. P I T T.

MR. P I T T owed his rise to the most considerable posts and power in this kingdom, singly to his own abilities. In him they supplied the want of birth and fortune, which latter, in others, too often supply the want of the former. He was a younger brother of a very new family, and his fortune was only an annuity of one hundred pounds a year.

The army was his original destination, and a cornetcy of horse his first and only commission in it. Thus unassisted by favour or fortune, he had no powerful protector to introduce him into business, and (if I may use that expression) to do the honors of his parts—but their own strength was fully sufficient.

His constitution refused him the usual pleasures, and his genius forbid him the idle dissipations, of youth, for so early as at the age of sixteen he was the martyr of an hereditary

hereditary gout. He therefore employed the leisure which that tedious and painful distemper either procured or allowed him in acquiring a great fund of premature and useful knowledge. Thus by the unaccountable relation of causes and effects, what seemed the greatest misfortune of his life was perhaps the principal cause of its splendor.

His private life was stained by no vice, nor sullied by any meanness. All his sentiments were liberal and elevated. His ruling passion was an unbounded ambition, which when supported by great abilities, and crowned with great success, make what the world calls a Great Man.

He was haughty, imperious, impatient of contradiction, and overbearing--qualities which too often accompany, but always clog, great ones.

He had manners and address, but one might discern through them too great a consciousness of his own superior talents.

He was a most agreeable and lively companion in social life, and had such a versatility of wit, that he could adapt it to all sorts of conversation. He had also a most happy turn to poetry; but he seldom indulged, and seldom avowed it.

He came young into Parliament, and upon that great theatre he soon equalled the oldest and the ablest actors. His eloquence was of every kind, and he excelled in the argumentative, as well in the declamatory way. But his invectives were terrible, and uttered with such energy of diction, and such dignity of action and countenance, that he intimidated those who were the most willing and the best able to encounter him.* Their arms fell out of their hands, and they shrunk under the ascendant which his genius gained over their's.

In that Assembly, where public good is so much talked of, and private interest singly pursued, he set out with acting the patriot, and performed that part so ably, that he was adopted by the public as their chief, or rather their only unsuspected, champion.

* Hume Campbell and Lord Mansfield.

The weight of his popularity and his universally acknowledged abilities obtruded him upon King George the second, to whom he was personally obnoxious. He was made Secretary of State. In this difficult and delicate situation, which one would have thought must have reduced either the patriot, or the minister, to a decisive option, he managed with such ability, that while he served the King more effectually in his most unwarrantable electoral views than any former minister, however willing, had dared to do, he still preserved all his credit and popularity with the public, whom he assured and convinced that the protection and defence of Hanover with an army of seventy-five thousand men in British pay, was the only possible method of securing our possessions or acquisitions in North America---So much easier is it to deceive than to undeceive mankind.

His own disinterestedness, and even contempt of money, smoothed his way to power, and prevented or silenced a great share of that envy which commonly attends it. Most men think that they have an equal natural right to riches, and equal abilities to make a proper use of them, but not very many of them have the impudence to think themselves qualified for power.

Upon the whole he will make a great and shining figure in the annals of this country; notwithstanding the blot which his acceptance of three thousand pounds per annum pension for three lives, upon his voluntary resignation of the Seals, in the first year of the present King, must make in his character, especially as to the disinterested part of it.---However it must be acknowledged, that he had those qualities which none but a Great Man can have, with a mixture of some of those failings, which are the common lot of wretched and imperfect human nature.

EXTRACTS

EXTRACTS FROM ORIGINAL LETTERS,

WRITTEN BY LORD CHESTERFIELD.

———— IL [Voltaire] ne peut pas s'empêcher de larder tout ce qu'il écrit, & qu'il feroit mieux de supprimer; puisqu' au bout du compte on ne doit pas troubler l'ordre établi. Que chacun pense comme il veut, ou plutôt comme il peut, mais qu'il ne communique pas ses idées, dès qu'elles sont d'une nature à pouvoir troubler le repos de la société.

———— Sont les choses qui me retiennent nécessairement cette année d'un pays que j'aime beaucoup dans un pays que franchement je n'aime guères.

Londres ———

———— L E Chevalier Robert est parti aujourd'hui pour sa terre, chargé des dépouilles & de la haine du public. Arraché au roi par la majorité du Parlement, & au même tems *impudemment* comblé de nouvelles marques de sa faveur, comme, titre de Comte, pension considérable, des charges à vie pour ses amis et dépendans, et le pas de Vicomtesse pour une fille bâtarde, et qu'il a eue du vivant de sa première femme. Tous ces excès ont animé le public contre lui plus que jamais---si bien que sa retraite n'a pas la mine d'être forte tranquille.

———— J E vous dirai naturellement, mais c'est absolument entre nous, que Monsieur son fils [le fils de Miladi Hervey] dont vous me demandez le caractère, n'en a point du tout. C'est un petit freluquet, une petite fille frivole, sans esprit, mais avec beaucoup d'humeur.

———— J' A I *vegeté* toute cette année ici, sans plaisirs, & sans peines. Mon âge & ma surdité me défendent les premiers: ma philosophie, ou peut-être mon temperament (car on s'y trompe souvent) me garantit des dernières. Je tire toujours le meilleur parti que je puis des amusemens tranquilles du Jardinage, de la Promenade, & de la Lecture; moyennant quoi, j'attends la mort, sans la souhaiter, ou sans la craindre.

F I N I S.

x

5/2007

Chesterfield, Philip Dormer Stanhope of, 1694-1773

Miscellaneous works Consisting of letters to his friends, never before printed, and various other articles

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